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REGAL ROME

AN

INTRODUCTION TO ROMAN HISTORY

BY

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PREFACE.

In the last twenty years, so much has been laid before the English public concerning the early Romans, that but few words of introduction are here needed.

Engraved monuments existed from the beginning of Roman story, but they could yield only fragmentary information, not continuous narrative. The actual writing of history came so late, that to recover the early events was an arduous attempt. The writers, in fact, had no critical experience, and were patriotically credulous, even when they aimed at truth. Nor only so, but the aristocracy falsified their family records through vanity, and the senate garbled their own decrees through party-spirit.

Cicero and Livy were extremely well aware of the untrustworthiness of the ancient Roman tales; but they treated them with the same respect as the religious mythology, and would have feared to damage

patriotism by too irreverent a criticism. The moderns, when a keen zeal for classical study was renewed, were for a long time seduced by the tone of the ancient authorities into a far more entire belief than that of the Augustan age. Perizonius, according to Niebuhr, eminently took the lead toward a sounder view. But no commanding genius was needed for this: the matter is plain enough to diligent talent. Bayle and Beaufort, knowing nothing of Perizonius, followed in the same course, and a severe shock was given to undiscriminating faith.

Sir Walter Raleigh had shown how false were the military annals of Rome, even in the second Punic war; but it was reserved for Niebuhr to demolish effectually all trust in the detailed accounts of Rome's martial successes. It is now clear that the historians thought it a patriotic duty to conceal defeats, or to invent victories which would wipe them out.

A right understanding of the agrarian laws dates only from Heyne, who, in the first French Revolution published a tract in proof that these laws never touched *private* but only *public* land. In fact, this is so plain in Plutarch and Appian, that it is hard to understand how earlier critics deceived themselves. Although Niebuhr acknowledges himself

indebted to Heyne on this subject (vol. ii., p. 133, *trn.*), yet, from Niebuhr's language elsewhere, the opinion has gone abroad that he originated this view, and that it needed the deep insight of a rare genius.

I will not conceal that my strong difference from the conclusions of Niebuhr has been a great impulse to the publication of this small volume: but if I were writing in Germany and not in England, no apology would be needed for the avowal. Niebuhr's erudition and untiring ingenuity have given a vast impulse to inquiry: Roman history is better written in consequence of his labors: but his successors are very far from tying themselves to his results.

Niebuhr often expresses much contempt for mere incredulous criticism and negative conclusions; and he probably would little value the compliment that he has aided us to get rid of fable and false theory. Yet, *wisely to disbelieve* is our first grand requisite in dealing with materials of mixed worth. When this has been accomplished, an hypothesis to connect and complete the events which remain may be ventured, and is often convincing. But while we hold fast an erroneous tradition, the more subtly we pursue its consequences, the worse does our falsehood become.

In attempting to reconstruct the picture of most ancient Rome, much aid is gained from the singular adherence of the Romans to precedent and form in the development of their constitution. This often enables the modern critic to read the ancient state of things, as the print in a rock shows to a geologist the nature of the leaf which marked it.

The learned reader will understand that to acknowledge obligations would be on the part of the writer an absurdity in such a subject. The only originality which can be here pretended, is that of having come with a fresh mind to old discussions.

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PART I.

ALBAN ROME.

CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST ITALY AND LATIUM.

Italy, from the earliest times, whether by its intrinsic beauty, or by its high serviceableness, attracted toward itself tribe after tribe from the northwest and north. Hence, at the highest period to which we can ascend, a great variety of population existed on the soil; and the pressure of migration seems generally to have been southward. What enthusiasm for Italy her "fatal beauty" is apt to excite in English visiters, we all know: more remarkable is it, that the ancient historian Dionysius,* a Greek who had surveyed the world of the Mediterranean widely, writes concerning the Italian peninsula with a high-wrought admiration which equals that of Englishmen.

* Dion. i. 36. Compare Spalding's Italy, vol. i., p. 29, etc.

The district of Italy with which we are here principally concerned was less favored by nature than most other parts. The country of the Latins is in great measure now uninhabitable from malaria; indeed, Cicero pronounced on Romulus the singular panegyric, that "he chose for his city a spot which in a pestilent region was salubrious."* It is generally believed that this unhealthiness was far less in more ancient times, when Latium was thickly planted with towns, the number of which is apt to seem incredible. The highlands, however, are reported to be quite healthy,† and the malaria on the lowlands is feared only in the dry season. The grass is luxuriant in spring and winter, and there is a good proportion of rich arable land. The extent of the Latin seacoast, from the mouth of the Tiber to Circeii, is about fifty miles; the breadth of Latium, from the coast to the Sabine hills, is estimated at thirty miles at most.‡ Within this area, before the dawn of history, many Latin cities flourished in more than one confederation; and we are accustomed to think of them as of pure race; yet there is reason to believe that many mixtures of population had already occurred. To elucidate this dark subject a little, we must cast a wider glance over the inhabitants of Italy.

Two nations are mentioned as dwelling in the

* Cic. de Rep., ii. 6. † Campagna di Roma: Penny Cyclopædia.
‡ Latium: Penny Cyclopædia.

earliest times to the north and south of Latium, one or both of whom seem to answer to the notion of aborigines—the UMBRIANS and the OSCANS. The Umbrians were regarded by the Romans as a truly primeval Italian race; who at one time held possession of all Lombardy and Tuscany, reaching perhaps into Latium. The Oscans (in Greek, Opikes), under various names—Volscians, Ausones,* Auruncans—appear as a principal people of southern Italy, who in historical times press from Campania northward into Latium. Their position on the peninsula, unless they came by sea, would suggest that they must have entered it still earlier than the Umbrians. What are the relations of the Umbrian and the Oscan languages, has not been very satisfactorily settled, although documents of both remain to us.† In the opinion of Lepsius, these two tongues pervaded the greater part of Italy, and were allied by perceptible affinities.

* *Ausones* is understood to be another form of *Aurunes*, preferred by Greek writers; Aurunci the Latinized form of Aurunes. But whether Ausonians and Oscans are coextensive terms, or one is genus and the other species, is uncertain. The language of all seems to have been called Oscan.

† The celebrated Eugubine inscriptions are supposed to be in the Umbrian language: those of Bantia and Abellà are in the Oscan. Various single words have been explained, and many of the forms of verbs and nouns detected. The Umbrian is characterized by a love of terminating words with the letter *r*, which appears also in the Oscan to have been commoner than in Latin.

On the ancient Italian languages the reader will do well to consult Prichard's "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iii.

The extant remains of the Oscan show enough in common with Latin to suggest the belief that they were *sister*-tongues, though mutually quite unintelligible. The Oscan has often *r* final in substantives, where the Latin has *s*, and begins its interrogatives with *p* instead of *qu*. In the latter point, it sides with the Greek and the Welsh, against the Latin and the Erse.

A single sentence reported by Dionysius* from Zenodotus of Troezen, has led the moderns to believe that the SABINE people, another fruitful stock of Italian population, was merely a branch of the Umbrians; but whether the relation of the two should be compared to that of high and low Germans, or rather to that of Germans and Scandinavians, remains very uncertain.

A third and highly-important element was added to Italy by colonization from the Grecian seas, to which Italy was indebted for letters and arts. The colonists are referable to three classes—Hellenes, or true Greeks—Pelasgians—and Etruscans.

The earliest pure GREEK colony in Italy, which history reports, is the town of Cumæ in Campania, and the date even of this is too high to be fixed.† But it is unreasonable to doubt that there were many other settlements unnoticed by historians; for

* Zenodotus says that indigenous Umbrians were driven out of the country of Reate by the Pelasgians, and in their new abode were called Sabines. Dion. ii., 49.

† Spalding acquiesces in B. C. 1030; p. 47. Clinton is silent.

the seacoast had numerous Greek names* in Roman times, and various cities practised Greek religious ceremonies. Indeed, both in arts and in religion, southern Etruria seems to have been pervaded with Greek influences, to an extent scarcely possible without the intermixture of true Hellenic inhabitants; and similar phenomena will presently appear in the accounts of earliest Rome.

The PELASGIANS are a very enigmatical people, who have occasioned controversies still unsettled. That there was in Italy a very sensible Pelasgian element, is attested too strongly to deny; but the admission of it is apt to be a barren truth. Dionysius reports numerous Pelasgian settlers in the interior and on the eastern coast, and appears to regard them to have set foot on Italy from that side: yet as they were in Greece a seafaring and scattered people, it would be unreasonable to limit their visits or their settlements to any one shore. The Roman poets used the name to include all the inhabitants of ancient Greece, of whatever race; with much the same vagueness as we now say *Britons* and *British* of all the inhabitants of our islands. If all our history were lost, an interminable contro-

* Servius ad Æn. x. 179, quotes a mysterious statement from the Origines of Cato, that the region of Pisa in Etruria, before the Etruscans occupied it, was held by "*Teutones* quidam, *Græce* loquentes." It is impossible to judge what allowance to make for Cato's credulity. Mr. Clinton's comment is curious (F. H., vol. i., p. 97, 1848), viz., that they were "doubtless some Pelasgic tribe." Indeed, he adduces the passage in proof that the *Pelasgians* spoke Greek.

versy might be propagated in distant times on the relation of the English to the British, if learned men neglected to observe how national names, which at first are very limited in application — as Pelasgian, Italian, Teuton, Alleman, Frank, Briton — tend to grow into a generic and comprehensive use. In fact, we know positively that a great change took place in the meaning of the name Pelasgian, between the periods of Homer and of Æschylus. In the poems of Homer we read of Argos in Thessaly, as distinctively *Pelasgian;* in contrast to which Homer calls Argos in Peloponnesus *Achœan.* But Æschylus and the poets who follow him conceived of Peloponnesian Argos as emphatically the metropolis of the Pelasgian nation, the dwelling-place of "Pelasgus" himself.* In the same spirit Herodotus identifies all the oldest fixed population of Greece with Pelasgians, though Homer always uses Pelasgian as an epithet specific to certain tribes. No test is imaginable by which Herodotus can have ascertained that the Ionians had *once* been Pelasgians, but had changed into Hellenes: on the other hand, we can safely trust his testimony that the only Pe-

* Possibly we can even trace this opinion to a misinterpretation of the Cyclopian buildings of Mycenæ. Since the citadel of Athens was fortified by a people called Pelasgians, the treasury of Atreus was referred to the same people; whence may have arisen the precipitate inference that the oldest inhabitants of Argos were Pelasgians. Mr. Kenrick (Philol. Mus., vol. i., p. 626) has treated Herodotus's "testimony" to the Pelasgianism of all Greece as utterly worthless. To this I understand Grote also to accede; vol. ii. p. 347.

lasgian people to whom he could appeal — viz., certain tribes near Thrace — talked a languāge quite unintelligible to the Greeks. In Italy, no town is more decidedly attested to have been a Pelasgian foundation than *Agylla* in southern Etruria, and from it we seem to have a relic of the Pelasgian tongue. It is an inscription of two lines, in Greek letters, scratched round a small black pot as follows:*—

MINIKEΘYMAMIMAΘYMAPAMAIΣIAIΘIIIYPENAI
EΘEEPAIΣIEEIIANAMINIΘYNAΣTAFHEAEΦY.

This is neither Latin, nor Greek, nor Umbrian, nor Oscan. It is equally certain that it is not Etruscan; since in that tongue harsh unions of consonants abound, while in this the distribution of vowels is as well proportioned as in the Negro languages: moreover, none of the well-known Etruscan words here occur. Since, then, the piece of pottery was found in a Pelasgian city, we must abide with Lepsius in the conclusion (until disproved) that these two lines are Pelasgian, and that the people who bore the name were utterly unintelligible to Etruscans and to Latins, to Umbrians, Oscans, and Greeks. All that we know concerning them con-

Lepsius; and Dennis's Etruria, vol. ii., p. 55. Vol. ii., p. 138, Mr. Dennis gives — from an old tomb near Siena, opened in 1698, but long since closed and lost — the following fragment of an alphabet, which is probably Pelasgic: ABCDEGIHΘIKLMN Ξ O. The seventh letter, apparently, has been miscopied from some equivalent of ו (Hebrew Vau).

verges to the belief that they were closely akin to the Trojans; and while rejecting nearly all the rest of Niebuhr's speculations concerning them, we may well accept his conjecture that the migrations of the Pelasgians by sea from the coast of Troas to Sicily and Italy, carrying with them their Penates and their religious worship, generated the poetical legends concerning Æneas and others. Indeed, it can scarcely be doubted that the worship of the Penates and Palladium of Lavinium, which Æneas was supposed to have conveyed thither, was strikingly similar to ceremonies practised on the north and northeast coast of the Ægean.

Of the Pelasgian tribes known in historical Greece, those who dwelt in Lemnos, Samothrace, and on the side of Athos were marked by the epithet *Tyrsene* or *Tyrrhene*, which means Etruscan:* and our inability to explain this epithet with certainty, causes much embarrassment. We are not even sure whether the title Tyrsene is to be translated as a Greek adjective, to mean (as Dionysius interpreted it with much plausibility) "skilled in building *towers*:" nor, if we hesitate to unite in one people two different national names, do we know on which of the two our incredulity ought the rather to fasten itself. If, indeed, we conceive of the double name Tyrsene-Pelasgian as analogous to Anglo-Saxon, or Cimbro-

* Especially Thucyd. iv. 109. Herod. i. 57. Add Sophocl. Inach. Frag.

Teuton, we may speculate concerning the fusion of two races, nearer or more distantly related. But in truth we have here no materials that will sustain any edifice of theory at all; and hence the endless disagreements of the learned. Appellations given by the vulgar to foreign tribes deserve no confidence whatever. Algerines and Syrians are often called *Turks;* the gipsies (an Indian tribe) are entitled *Egyptians* and *Bohemians;* the natives of North America, *Indians;* while the ruling dynasty of China, and the pastoral tribes on the north of Persia, are confounded under the name of *Tartars.** Who does not know the infinite license with which the word *Scythian* was used in antiquity? nor was less vagueness given to *Pelasgian* and to *Tyrsene.* By learned quotations it is satisfactorily demonstrated that Ionians and Æolians were Pelasgian; Selli or Helli were Pelasgian, Helli were Hellenes, and Hellenes were Dorians; therefore (we presume) Dorians were Pelasgian; moreover, Thessalians and Siculians, Œnotrians and Latins, were all Pelasgian.† On the other hand, it is complained by Dionysius‡

* Two different and remote nations were called in ancient times *Iberians*—one in Georgia, one in Spain: so the Albanenses of Spain are unconnected with the Albanians of Georgia, the Albans of Italy, or the Albanians of modern Greece. In Africa, we call two wholly diverse nations *Berbers*—the one on the upper Nile, the other on the highlands of Atlas. Further see Latham's Tacitus, p. xlix.

† See Prichard's Ph. H.: Niebuhr: Göttling: Mure's Literature of Greece, Spalding's Italy, etc.

‡ Dionys. i., 25, 29.

that Etruscans, Latins, Oscans, Bruttians, were all confounded by the Greeks under the name *Tyrrhene:* and he may be the better trusted, since he calls this extension of the name "an error occasioned by distance of place," and builds no theory upon it. Indeed, we have before our eyes, in a line of Euripides,* an undeniable proof that the extreme south of Italy, the territory of Rhegium, was popularly included in Tyrsenia—when he speaks of the monster Skylla as "dwelling on Tyrsene soil." The Pelasgians of Mount Athos may have been called Tyrsene, from some connection with southern Italy, or (as Mr. Clinton holds)† they may have been really Tyrsenes, but improperly called Pelasgians.

The Etruscans are a third people, confessedly foreign in Italy, yet sharply contrasted with the Pelasgians, in religion and manners at least, even if the language of the latter be deemed still in mystery. The ancients in general believed unhesitatingly that the Etruscans came by sea from Lydia. Of remaining authors, only Dionysius denied their relationship to the Etruscans; and his dissent has been made the basis of a new theory by Cluver, Frèret, and Heyne, whom Niebuhr, Müller, and Göttling, have followed. This subject will need

* Eur. Med., 1342, 1359.

† Clinton and Prichard are self-consistent, who treat Pelasgian as equivalent to *old Greek*, and think that the Pelasgians whom Herodotus could not understand had become barbarized: but it is truly difficult to gain any consistent view from Niebuhr.

further discussion below. It suffices here to observe that Prichard and Dennis have vindicated the popular belief of the Lydian origin, and that the Etruscans were undoubtedly far advanced in all the arts of peace and war beyond the other Italian states. When we begin to get glimpses of their internal state, we find the river Tiber to be their southern boundary.

But to return to Latium. In addition to the Umbrian, Oscan, Sabine, and sea-borne population, a nation called SICULIANS came in. This people had spread along the eastern coast of Italy, from north to south; one branch only of them crossed the Apennines and settled in Latium, who seem to have been the true progenitors of those known to us as the Latin nation. At least another portion of them, which had been driven into Sicily by the Oscans,* and gave to that island the name it still keeps, used (with very slight change) the words *cubitus*, *patina*, *carcer*, *leporis*, *catinus*, *mutuum*, *gelu*, *campus*, *nepotes*, in the same sense as the Latins did, and said *Valentos* as the genitive of *Vales* (Valens).† The presumption therefore is, that their whole language was fundamentally Latin; though the tongue of Latium itself was destined to receive still further changes from new immigrants. For, according to

* Thucyd., vi. 2.

† These details are made out by K. O. Müller (Etrusker, p. 12), in part from fragments of comedies written by Sicilian Greeks, who have admitted native Siculian words into their dialect.

the accounts collected by Dionysius, the Siculians there were afterward conquered by another people, who seem to have descended from the Apennines. Who they were, is quite uncertain; but after such an outline of events, we must expect to find a very great mixture in the ultimate Latin language, even if the Siculian when it entered Latium could be supposed a really pure and primitive tongue.

It is credible that the last-named immigration is that which brought about a distinction between the Prisci Latini (or Ancient Latins)* and the other Latins, who apparently can be nothing else than the Latins who adhered to Alba Longa as their leader. Whether Alba was or was not the city built or at least occupied by the invaders, it is as clear as anything in those times that there *was* an Alban league separate from that of the Ancient Latins: and it was afterward fancifully imagined that the number of states was always exactly *thirty*. This idea is likely to have grown out of the fact that, before the Punic wars, the Romans had established thirty colonies which they called LATIN. The number thirty and its multiples recur in these early tales in a way

* Pliny (Nat. Hist., 3, 9), in recounting the towns (or rather nationalities?) which have perished, seems to discriminate the Ancient Latins, under the name of *Latii clara oppida*, from the Alban cities, which he gives in alphabetical order. Niebuhr's punctuation, which makes the *populi Albenses* include the thirty-one which follow, is probable enough of the writer whom Pliny copied; but had Pliny so understood it, he would not have counted fifty-three in all.

which betrays the working of fiction: in two instances only is it certainly historical—in the thirty Latin colonies, and in the thirty curies of the early Roman state. In all the other instances the evidence is inadequate, and the number is more likely to be due to the ingenuity of the writer than to the truth of fact. Nothing, indeed, is here more suggestive than the pains which even modern critics take to increase the number of instances in which *thirty* shall pass as historical.

At a very early period, the Latin towns grew up into free and well-organized confederations, and had, no doubt, gained varied political experience, such as was accumulated also in republican Greece; although in Latium no Miletus or Athens arose as a centre of fine art and of Literature. For the necessities of war, the Latins appear to have elected a dictator from time to time, who may, like a Greek στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, have been temporarily despotic; but otherwise, their states were strictly republican. It is to the Latin element, which finally gained the ascendency in Rome, that the moderns, justly as it seems, impute the sagacity at length manifested by the Romans in organization and government. No serfs nor clients are believed to have existed in Latium proper. The commonalty were all full citizens of the state, and practically skilled in that co-operation for self-government on which all political freedom has everywhere depended. Even when

forced to migrate, they appear to have known how to order their internal organization, to recognise their divisions into tribes, elect their tribunes, sanction their own marriages and testaments, and thus sustain their nationality even when conquered. We shall hereafter see that by such means the Plebeians of Rome, nearly as the Greeks in Turkey, were a nation within a nation.

Among the arts of the Latins we are able to name that of peculiarly strong fortification. The massive walls of Præneste and Tusculum, Ferentinum and Alatrium, still draw the traveller's admiration. Norba, Cora, Signia, Arpinum, Tibur, Palestrina, Atina, Terracina, and other places, have likewise ruins of what has been called "Cyclopean" architecture — which in Latium is said to be always *polygonal*.* From the similarity of this style of building to that which is called Cyclopean and Pelasgian in Greece, it has been inferred that all such building is of vast antiquity, and is the actual work of a Pelasgian people: but the vanity of this inference is manifested by the fact that this polygonal structure was employed by the Romans themselves in late times, whenever they desired peculiar strength, or the material was favorable to such a style. A part of the Appian, the Salarian, and the Valerian Ways, is found to rest on polygonal substruction. At Feren-

* W. R. Gregg on the Cyclopean Remains: Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philos. Society, vol. vi. 1842.

tinum of the Hernici a platform of horizontal stone-courses rests on an irregular but well-fitted polygonal basis, which might have been judged the work of a much earlier age; yet a deeply-cut inscription informs us that both were erected by the same magistrates, Hirtius and Lollius, probably in the lifetime of Cicero.*

We may, then, dispense with the inquiry, as historically unimportant, whether, as some still maintain,† the Pelasgians first brought this art of building into Italy: for, whoever originated it, the Romans, the Latins, and the Etruscans, were capable of learning it, and did practise it; nor can any great age be ascribed to a building merely because of its polygonal or Cyclopean style. Indeed, Signia in Latium was a colony planted by Tarquin, the last king of Rome, and its Cyclopean walls are fairly to be imputed to him. Finally, the practice of this art of fortification enabled the Latin cities long to maintain their separate independence, and at a later period was one of the principal means by which the Romans upheld their frontier garrisons in the midst of half-subdued and oppressed races.

* Bunbury on Cyclopean Remains in Central Italy: Classical Museum, vol. ii.

† Dennis, in his Etruria, vol. ii., p. 284, refers the walls of Cosa to the Pelasgians.

CHAPTER II.

THE LATIN LANGUAGE.

In aiming to learn what and who the Latins were, we can not dispense with inquiring what relation their language bore toward that of other known surrounding nations.

It is universally agreed among the learned that the Latin language is one of a large group, technically called Indo-European, to which the German, the Greek, the Welsh, and the Irish belong. The prevalent opinion, moreover, regards the last two tongues (which are grouped together under the name of Keltic) as peculiarly remote members of the family; and teaches that the Latin is far more closely related to Greek and to German, than to the Irish or Welsh.

The closer the question is examined, the more perhaps will it appear that the discussion of it is embarrassed by the fact that the Latin is a very composite language. That the old Latins were at least a double people, is implied in every ancient account; and it might be reasonable to think that

large masses of words were taken up into the same tongue (whatever it was primitively) from Siculians, Umbrians, or perhaps Oscans, Greeks, and Sabines, if not from Pelasgians and Etruscans. So much *à priori*. But on actually comparing the Latin vocabulary with that of Greeks, Germans, and Kelts, a far closer similarity to the Keltic shows itself. To discuss the subject fully, might occupy a treatise; and I shall content myself with producing certain select vocabularies. They suffice to establish that at least one of the stocks of population out of which the mixed Roman people was made up, spoke a tongue so much akin to Welsh and Gaelic, that we are justified in extending the term *Keltic* to embrace this Italian tribe. The only point left at all uncertain is, whether the oldest Latin itself, or only some of its affluents, was the Keltic influence.

I have endeavored, in the "Classical Museum" (vol. vi., p. 321), to establish that the Latin of Cicero abounds with *intrusive* Keltic elements; and, especially, that the Sabines used a vocabulary which was akin to the Gaelic: and the argument seems to be unassailable except by admitting a relation so close between the oldest Latin and the Keltic as to imply a recent divergency from a common stock. Yet any recent divergency seems inconsistent with the intense *grammatical* oppositions between Latin and the Keltic tongues as we know them. Will it be said that the old Gauls *may* have had a grammatical

system far more closely approximating to Latin than we could guess from examining Irish and Welsh? and that in those days there was possibly even in Irish and Welsh less grammatical divergency than now from the speech of Latium? Such hypotheses are perhaps impossible to disprove. On the ground, however, that they have no *presumption* in their favor, and no evidence, it seems necessary for the present to reject them; which drives us to the conclusion that much of the Keltism which appears in the Latin vocabulary, even when it is not of Sabine introduction, is an after-infusion. At present I assume that the Umbrians and Sabines may both be called Kelto-Italian: indeed, that the Umbrians were in some sense Kelts, is a very old opinion.* The primitive Latin—whatever was its truest nucleus—if nearer to Greek and Sanscrit than to the Keltic tongues, must have Keltized itself by imbibing Umbrian. That much Greek and Sabine was also taken up, no one can doubt: so that we seem to have four languages at least compounded into the Latin. About a Pelasgian or Etruscan infusion we have no means of conjecturing usefully.

In the following tables, E stands for *Erse* or Irish, G for *Gaelic* or Highland Scotch, W for Welsh, B for Breton. The student should know that the Erse and the Gaelic are only dialects of one language, but Welsh and Breton are decidedly different from

* Prichard, Phys. Hist., vol. iii.

both. For uniformity, I have ventured to write in the Welsh words *v*, *dh*, and *f*, where the common dictionaries write *f*, *dd*, and *ff*. Observe also that *mh*, *ll*, are sounded as *v*, χλ (that is, *chl* with the soft guttural *ch* of the Germans).

	Latin.	*Welsh.*	*Gaelic.*	*Æolic Greek.*
One	Uno	Un	Aen	Hen
Two	Duo	Dau	Do	Duo
Three	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri
Four	Quatuor	Peduar	Keathair	Pisur, Petor
Five	Quinque	Pump	Kuig	Pempe
Six	Sex	Chwech	Se	Hex
Seven	Septem	Saith	Secht	Hepta
Eight	Octo	Wyth	Ocht	Octo
Nine	Novem	Naw	Noi	Ennea
Ten	Decem	Deg	Deich	Deka
Twenty	Viginti	Ugain	Fichid	Veikosi
Hundred	Centum	Cant	Kett	Hecatonta
Thousand	Mille	Mil	Mile	Chilio.

In these numerals, we may note that the Greek is more remote from Latin than is either Keltic tongue, as to the numbers 1, 7, 9, 20, 100, 1,000; more remote than Gaelic as to 4, 5, 6 (observing that the initial S in Sex is a more marked feature than the final *x*), while barely in the numbers 2 and 8 has it appreciable superiority to Gaelic.

Equally do the Saxon and German numerals recede more from Latin than the Gaelic does. Nor,

in fact, of all the Indo-European tongues, has *any* so near a likeness to the Latin as the Gaelic has.

To save room, the Latin words are not translated: the crude forms are given:—

Tellur....E. teallur	Flamma..W. B. flamm
Terra....W. G. tir	Luna.....G. luan
Sŏlo.....W. syl	Sol.....W. heul
Mari.....G. muir	G.* seul?
Amni.....G. amhain	Puteo....W. pydew
W. avon	Vico.....W. gwic
Lacu.....G. loch	Horto....G. gort
Font.....W. fynnon	Tritico...W. tredd
E. fionns	Hordeo...G. eorna
Mont.....W. mwnt	Secali....G. seagal
G. monadh	Faba.....G. faob
Palud....G. poll	Grano....G. grainne
Stagno...G. stang	Falc.....G. fal
Luto.....G. làthach	B. falch
W. llutrod	Serra.....G. searr
Calc*(lime)*W. calch	Remo....G. ramh
G. cailc	Reti.....W. rhwyd
Pulver...W. pylor	Rota.....G. roth
Vento....W. gwynt	Axi.....W. echel
Procella..W. brochell	G. aisil
Luc.....W. llug	Carro....G. car
G. lleus	Carpento..G. carbad
Aurora...W. gwawr	Lima.....G. liomhan

* That the Gaelic once had *Seul* is inferred, partly from the analogy of the Welsh *Heul*, partly from the word *Solus*, light (σελας?), *Suil*, the eye, etc.

Scopa....G. squab
Scala.....W. ysgol
(G. sgàlan, *scaffold*)
Funi.....W. funen
Fasci....W. fasg
Furca....B. furch
Fusti.....W. fust
Auro.....W. aur
G. or
Argento...W. ariant
G. airgiod
Stanno ...G. staoin
Plumbo ...W. plwm
Ferro.....W. berwy
G. iarunn *for** fiarunn ?
Foco.....W. foc
Sal .....G. sail
W. heli
Tauro....W. taru
Vaccæ....W. buch
W. buoch
Bov.....W. bu
G. bo
Vitulo....W. bittolws, *bull;*
Vitulo....W. bittail, *buffalo*
Capro....W. gafr
G. gabr
Cervo....G. cabrach
W. carw
Dama ....G. damh *(m)*
B. demm
Hedo† ....G. fiadh, *deer*
W. cidws, *goat*
Ariet .....G. reithe
W. hyrdh *(pl.)*
Bubalo ...G. buabhal
Bestia....G. biast
Equo.....G. each
Asina ....W. esen
Asello ....G. asal
Mulo.....W. mul
Greg .....G. greigh
Fœno.....W. fwyn
Lact .....W. llaeth
G. bliochd
Caseo....W. caws
Divitiæ...W. defaid, *sheep*; and defod, *wealth*
Porco ....W. porch

* Initial F and P are liable to vanish in Erse, sometimes in grammatical regimen. So Athair, Iasg, Uircean, for Pathair (pater), Piasg (pisci), Puircean (porco).

† *Hedo* was *Fedo* in the Sabine: so *Arena* was *Fasena.* This may illustrate the preceding note.

Porco ....G. uircean
Cuniculo ..G. coinean
Simia ....W. simach
Olor .....W. alarch
G. eala
Gallo.....E. gall
Columba..G. colm
Pavon....W. pawyn
Perdric...W. petris
Pisci .....W. pysg
G. iasg
Vipera....W. gwiber
Natric....G. nadhair
Nido .....G. neadh
Pelli .....W. pil
G. peall
Pluma....W. pluv
Cornu....W. corn ;
carn, *hoof*
Veller ....W. gwlan
G. olla
Caron....W. cyr
Cruor ....W. craw
Corpor ...G. corp
Caput ....G. cap, *top*
Bucca....W. boch
Barba....B. W. barf
Collo .....G. coll

Cluni.....W. B. clun and
llyn
Ungui....G. ionga
Ren.....W. aren *(pl.)*
Labio ....G. liob
Dent.....B. W. dant
Dorso....G. druim
Crus.....G. cruachann,
haunch
Axilla.. } W. asgell, *wing*
Ala .... } G. achlais, *armpit*
Voc.....G. foc
Vir .....G. fear
W. gwr
Virtut....G. feart
Viragon ..W. gwraig
Virgon ...B. guerch
G. uraich
Deo.....W. Dew
G. Dia
Divino....W. dewin
Die.....G. di
W. dydh
B. deiz
Cælo .....G. ceal
Fini.....W. fin
Ora.....W. or
Hospes ...W. osb

It is believed that, although as to a fraction of these words, the Greek and the German languages

also admit of being compared to the Latin, yet the closer the attempt is made, the more decided will the superior proximity of the Keltic appear. It must further be remembered that in all probability the German tongues have themselves a dash of Keltic, and that the same thing is more than possible concerning the Greek.

The argument in favor of the belief that much of the Keltic in Latin has been *intruded*, admits of being greatly strengthened by showing in numerous instances that a word is isolated in Latin, while in Keltic it is obviously one of a family. I reserve a table that concerns military words, till I come to the Sabines; and now only annex a supplementary vocabulary, in order of the alphabet, of other Latin words which have close similarities in sound and sense in Keltic:—

Acer	Calvus	Caussa	Colo
Alo	Calleo	Cavus	Columen
Altus	Callidus	Cedo	Com, Con
Anima	Camurus	Cella	Comis
Arduus	Canus	Celo	Copia
Blandus	Candidus	Certus	Coquo
Bonus	Căno	Cestus	Crassus
(duonus)	Capio	Cista	Creo
Brevis	Carus	Clarus	Cresco
Caballus*	Caries	Claudo	Crudus
Cæcus	Caulis	Claudus	Crux

* The derivation of this is visible in Gaelic.

Cubo	Lenis	Nec	Ruga
Culcita*	Licet	Necto	Salto
Cuneus	Linea	Nego	Salus
Cupa	Limi	Nemo	Salvus
Cura	(oculi)	Nŏta	Scribo
Curtus	Lis	Nudus	Scrutor
De	Malus }	Pannus	Securus
Donum	Mollis }	Par	Severus
Durus	Mando	Pars	Siccns
Elementum	Manus	Paries	Sitis
Fallo	Medius	Pario	Sobrius
Fenestra	Merus	Peto	Stolidus
Ferus	Merx	Pons	Stultus
Firmus	Meto	Porta	Succus
Flaccidus	Misceo	Portus	Summa
Flamma	Mitis	Porto	Superbus
Flos	Minuo	Precor	Taceo
Fluo	Modus	Pretium	Tener
Fremo	Molo	Probo	Tenuis
Frigus	Moneo	Pungo	Timeo
Frons	Mores	Purus	Torreo
Gratia	Morior	Purgo	Trans
Juvenis	Mora	Quies	Tumeo
Imus	Mucus	Quisquiliæ	Tumulus
Incolumis*	Mutus	Rapio	Tumultus
Lætus	Muto	Raucus	Ultra
Latus	Non	Rego	Usus
Laudo	Ne	Rigeo	Væ!
Laxus	Nebula	Rodo	Vanus

* The derivation of these is visible in Gaelic.

Vastus	Ver	Vilis
Vates	Verus	Viridis
Velum	Vidua	Vita

A fraction of the last list has words in Greek that correspond, and are so widely diffused that they are not the less Latin for being Keltic. Yet even such are generally closer to Keltic than to Greek. Thus Canus and Candidus are explained by Cando in Latin, and by the simple root καίω (I burn) in Greek: yet the Greek has nothing so close in sound as the Welsh *Cann*, white, *Cannaid*, shining bright.

It may be proper here to remark that we have abundant means of ascertaining that the Keltic words were *not* introduced into Welsh by the Roman conquest of Britain. In a large number of instances the words are members *of families* in Welsh, and are nearly isolated in Latin. Moreover, the similarities of Gaelic to Latin are generally more striking than those of Welsh, although the Gaelic races were at that time in Ireland, and were never attacked by the Romans.

That Latin is a true composite, we sometimes see indicated by its mingling similar words that have been moulded differently by the genius of different tongues. To explain this, it suffices to observe that any foreigner, on considering the words *father* and *paternal*, will discern that we have imported the latter; for it ought to be at least *father-nal*, if it

were of home-growth.* Similarly, "Law, Loyal, and Legal," denote a composite language. So we find—

Lat. Porcus, Verres, Aper;
W. Porch; *A.S.* Berga *or* Bearh; *Eng.* Barrow, Boar; *Dutch*, Beer-schwyn; *Germ.* Eber.

In a variety of instances Latin words retain only secondary meanings, where the primary ones are manifest in the Keltic. Sometimes the Latin is evidently corrupt or broken. Thus *monile*, a necklace, is from the Gaelic *fail-muineil*, or *seud-muineil*, the word *muineil* meaning the neck. (*Monile* I classify as Sabino-Latin.) So *incolumis*, unharmed; from W. or B. *coll*, loss, damage; and *colo*, to cultivate, where G. has the older sense *coil*, to clip; which is seen also in κολούω and *culter*.

If more knowledge should be gained of the Umbrian tongue (which perhaps is to be hoped), it may lead to a more decided agreement among learned men concerning the composition of the Latin. Yet one of two results appears inevitable: *either* the old Latin was naturally more akin to Gothic and Greek, but has received two successive infusions of Keltic —first, a quasi-Welsh infusion from the Umbrians, and secondly, a quasi-Gaelic infusion from the Sabines—to be hereafter pointed out; *else* the original Latin, as well as the Sabine, was prevailingly

* By a similar argument, Meyer has pointed out a Keltic infusion in the German tongues.

Keltic in vocabulary, whatever may be thought of its grammatical relations. In either case we must allow that between the Kelts and some very significant ingredient of the Latin population, independently of the Sabines, no great chasm existed.

At the same time it must be added, that isolated words appear in Latin which denote also German influence. Such, for instance, are *negligo*, which is to be compared with *nachlassen*, and exhibits the German *nach*, after—a particle unknown to Latin. Such is *prehendo*, related to the noun *hand*. Such, again, are *reciprocus* and *recupero* or *recipero*, incorporating the German *rück*, back.* Such, perhaps, are *interimo*, *intereo*, where *inter* has not its Latin sense "between," but represents the *unter*, "under," of the Germans. But, as far as I am able to judge, the Teutonic infusion is so superficial, that it may have been picked up by some Italian tribe in their northern passage, before they reached Italy and settled in Latium: it by no means implies that any portion of the Latin or even of the Italian population was *Teutonic*. Nor are we certain that such Teutonisms may not also have been Umbrian or Oscan.

On the other hand, the difficulty would be extreme of judging, from internal evidence, whether

* These derivations of *negligo*, *reciprocus*, *recipero*, are due to the acuteness of my learned colleague Professor Key. *Reciprocus* must have meant backward and forward. *Recupero* is from *paro*.

many Greek words in Latin are native or imported; as *ovis*, *ovum*, *ager*, *bos*, *ago*, etc. Here, especially since the grammatical systems are more akin, we have to abide by the rule of regarding common words as original to both tongues, except where the contrary definitely appears. Indeed, since we otherwise know that Greeks did settle on the coast of Etruria and Latium before the population of historical Rome was formed, we are not here tempted to lean on the evidence of language in proof of that fact. Nevertheless, we have no ground to think that any masses of Greek population went deep into the country, so as to affect the names by which the peasants called homely things: and to speak generally, the Greek influence was probably confined to matters of religion and of art.

The Latin talked in the Punic wars is known to have had *Oscan* peculiarities which were afterward lost, especially *d* final annexed to the ablative. This circumstance suggests that, besides the languages already named, there was an Oscan element in the early Latin. Some inquirers, indeed, treat the Oscans as the "aborigines" of Latium, who were never exterminated by the various tribes superimposed.

CHAPTER III.

ROME BEFORE NUMA.

A CLUSTER of hills, which were anciently counted as seven, lies on the east bank of the Tiber, below its junction with the Anio. Some of these were the site of villages or towns at a period much earlier than that which is commonly called Roman; and the changes of name in the Tiber itself seem to testify to changes of inhabitants. It was successively called Rumon,* Albula, Thybris, and finally Tiberis. We may assume that the first name was aboriginal —perhaps Oscan—and that with it the name of Rome itself was connected. The Latins believed Rome to be a foreign word; at least they imagined that it had another sacred name, which might not be mentioned. Albula is apparently Latin. Thybris is in form Greek, and carries the mind to a time when the Capitoline hill was occupied by a city called Saturnia, and the Janiculum, across the Tiber, by a Greek town called Antipolis.† In the same

* Servius.

† Pliny, Nat. Hist., iii. 9. Dionysius calls this town Ænea; but that seems to be a fiction, intended to connect it with Æneas.

period a Greek colony was settled on the Palatine, the leader of which a later age named Evander. Arcadia was assigned as his country: whether because Palatium sounded like to the Arcadian town Pallantium, or rather because of the festival called Lupercalia, which was traced to his institution, and was thought to have a likeness to the feast of Lycæa, as celebrated in Arcadia. The worship of Hercules at the "Greatest Altar" is unhesitatingly pronounced by Livy to be Greek; and when he adds that this was the only foreign* ceremonial which Romulus adopted, it is evident that he does not speak without discrimination. Moreover, the hereditary priesthood of the Potitii and Pinarii, which continued into historical times, in connection with this worship of Hercules, is quite in accordance with Greek customs, but apparently foreign to Italy. In fact, seven different fortresses seem at this time to have been placed on the site of Rome, surrounded by small villages; for a feast called the Septimontium† was ascribed by Roman antiquarians to this primitive era — a feast celebrated, as its name implies, by a union of the inhabitants of seven hills.

* The Etruscans evidently are *not* considered by Livy foreign to the people of Romulus.

† Varro (apud Becker, p. 125): "Ubi nunc Roma, Septimontium." On this whole subject of the Septimontium and Roman Quadrata, Becker has collected the evidence and brought it to a focus: Antiqq., vol. i. See also Mommsen (Tribes of Rome), who tries to make out further details.

Roman principle forbade the disuse of ancient religious ceremonies; and in consequence the *montani* and *pagani* in Rome kept up their sacred rites in conventicles* of their own, down to the age of Cicero. There appear in strictness to have been only six *montes*, which are recounted as the Palatine, the Germalus, the Velia, the Fagutal, the Oppian, and the Cispian. To these was added the fortified village (*pagus*) of Sucusa, afterward called the Suburra. The other pagi were unwalled villages, or rather parishes, said to have been twenty-three in number; but this seems to be a mere invention, intended to make the montes and pagi together exactly thirty. Twenty-four ancient chapels, called Argean, distributed through these districts, involuntarily remind us of Argos; and if the word *pagus*† itself is not certainly Greek, several things to be afterward named may lead to the opinion that a strong Grecian influence was at work in this primitive "amphictiony."

Under the freest institutions political parties and discontents are inevitable, nor were the Latins without them. Their *colonies*, strictly so called, were sent out by public authority, and retained a fixed relation of some kind toward the mother-city; but migrations and settlements made by discontented and ambitious chieftains owned no such allegiance.

* Conventicula, Cic. Pro. Dom., 28. † πάγος, a hill.

According to the account which the later Romans believed, in the eighth century before the Christian era an Alban secession established itself on the Palatine hill, where was the colony of Evander. The leaders of the secession were called by later ages Remus and Romus or Romulus. The names are evidently made from that of Rome itself, nor is there a single fact concerning either of these personages which has the slightest pretence to be called historical. Romulus is to Alban Rome what the name Pharaoh is to ancient Egypt—a gathering up into one name of the kings or captains who, through the whole period, exercised government there. Romulus was believed by Roman antiquaries to have founded Rome with Etruscan ceremonies, which were retained to the latest times in founding Roman colonies. The rites consisted in harnessing a cow and bull to a plough and driving it round the limit, carefully turning every clod inward.* A belt of ground was consecrated, and in the midst of it the city-wall was erected. In the centre of the town a square and level surface was reserved, built round with massive stone; and within it was dug a pit, into which first-fruits of all useful things were cast, and solemnly covered up. This

* Plutarch. Romul. 11. Servius in Virg. Æn., v. 755. The plough had a brazen share, which was taken off at the part where there was to be a gate, to avoid consecrating the passage of the gate. The founder was *incinctus ritu Gabino*, his toga partly used as a veil to his face, and partly tucked around him.

square was afterward called Roma Quadrata.* Since Roman antiquarians are likely to have known, if such a structure might have been Latin, it seems necessary to believe that it was exclusively Etruscan. Indeed, as the early Greeks reverenced and the later ones despised Egypt and Egyptian religion, so do the Romans seem to have been affected toward Etruria.

The Latins, like other Italian nations, were profound believers in augury. At a much later time the movements of their armies, and their acceptance of a general,† were dependent on the flight of birds, which were supposed to indicate the will of the gods. That a popular assembly, which met in the open air, should be liable to mental impressions from so striking a phenomenon as an eagle flying down into the midst of them — or from other behavior of powerful birds in a half-wild country, where they have little dread of man — can not at all astonish us. A belief in augury becomes ridiculous and monstrous when it is methodized as in later Rome; when the domestic fowl has supplanted the eagle and vulture, and the solitary poulterer, watching

* Festus, p. 258, Müller; Varro apud Solinum, 1, 17. [The references from Becker's Antiqq.] — Plutarch (Rom. 11) represents the *mundus* (or pit) as in the Comitium. He also seems to suppose Roma Quadrata to mean the whole of Palatine Rome, the form of which is a rude quadrilateral: so Dionysius and others. Dio Cassius (Fragm. Vales., 3, 5) hints that τετράγωνος Ῥώμη is older than Romulus.

† Festus: Prætor ad Portam.

his hencoop, reports how many morsels fall on the pavement from the chicken's mouth! But the augury of barbarous days was the fruit of natural feeling, not merely* of hereditary artifice: and in accordance with simpler notions, Romulus was believed to have been favored with a sight of twelve vultures all at once, when he consulted the gods concerning the foundation of his city. His wall ran round the Palatine hill, and enclosed very little beyond it.† A street at the bottom, called the Tuscan street, was by some referred to this era, when (they said) it was occupied by the soldiers of a Tuscan Lucumo, Cœles Vibenna, who assisted Romulus in war.

As far as we can judge concerning so dark a period, Tuscans (or Etruscans) were attracted to Rome by two different causes—as traders, and as mercenary soldiers. So was it with Greeks among neighboring barbarians. The nation which is superior in art furnishes an abundance of petty merchants who

* Yet that there was *something* hereditary in it is justly argued from the fact that no barbarians of modern days are known to divine by augury.

† Tacitus (Ann. xii. 24) describes the line of the old wall. Becker suggests a slight change of stopping, so as to make the description end with "forumque Romanum." As it began from "forum Boarium," the line to join the two points is evident. Niebuhr and Bunsen, by putting the Curiæ Veteres farther off, make the line of the wall deviate on the northeast far beyond the Palatine. Becker, and Bunbury (Classical Museum, vol. iii., p. 343), hold to the less paradoxical view.

sell its wares to the ruder neighbors: thus a Tuscan street naturally rose in earliest Rome from the shops of Tuscan merchants, who learned so much of the Latin tongue as was needed for trade, and thought more about a good bargain for their stock than about political position. Such dealers introduced Tuscan fashions in dress, especially* the *toga*, and the *bulla* in the community at large, and all the trappings of royalty. In course of time their descendants formed a small part of the fixed population of Rome, and may be compared to the μέτοικοι, or resident aliens, at Athens. Ultimately, it is to be presumed, they were swallowed up in the Roman *Plebs*.

At the same time, the superior armor of the Etruscans, and their Greek or Carian mode of fighting, made them, while Rome was poor and low in art, valued as mercenary troops. Cœles Vibenna seems to be a personage without a date, the type of every leader of Etruscan *condottieri*. But such bodies, except where they make political revolutions, leave little permanent impression on a state: nor is anything distinctly known concerning their agency in this period.

But there is a perfect unanimity among the ancients as to the principle on which the rapid rise of Romulus's colony depended. Walls having been erected sufficient for defence, free reception was

* The *names* were Latin, perhaps in strictness introduced by the Sabines.

given to all who chose to come and claim it. The forms under which this was done remind us of Greek customs, if indeed we may trust the tale.* A lofty and steep hill lay to the northwest of the new Rome. Its back had a depression in the centre; the two heights on each side were afterward called the Citadel and the Capitol. From the Capitol the whole hill was called Capitoline: the rock of the Citadel was abrupt, and was named the Tarpeian. In the depression between, or the descent from it, a spot was consecated, and called by the Greek name *asylum:* whoever fled to this was received, as a claimant of hospitable protection, to whom the walls must not remain closed. Whether such formalities have been correctly reported to us, is of very little importance: that the policy herein implied was systematically followed in the whole period of kingly Rome, seems beyond reasonable doubt, and to be a clew to the whole course of events. To the same

* My friend Dr. W. Ihne, in an ingenious paper (Classical Museum, vol. iii., p. 190), regards the whole as an invention founded on a mistake concerning the "jus exulandi." Alban Rome must indeed have been misrepresented to us, if neighboring states *made treaties with it* that each should receive into citizenship those citizens of the other, who, to avoid something disagreeable at home, chose to go into banishment. Is it not more conformable with rude times that such things should happen (as the story tells) without a treaty, than in consequence of one? To object that an asylum was a Greek and not a Latin custom, is to assume that there was no Greek religion among the primitive villagers of the Septimontium; while all the notices of ante-Sabine religion in Rome have a prevailing Grecian aspect.

policy Thucydides ascribes the early aggrandizement of Attica. Defeated chieftains from all parts of Greece flocked thither, with their retinues, as to safe refuge; and brought their numbers, experience and skill in the arts of war or peace. Livy, indeed, calls the principle "familiar to the founders of cities;" and undoubtedly it conduces to material prosperity. To harbor criminals is quite a separate matter, and in our days is an odious idea, when criminals are the dregs of society. Not so, political offenders. Holland and England have long gloried in protecting those whom the despots of neighboring communities have judged to deserve punishment; and the arts and wealth of both countries have been increased by the industry and ingenuity of refugees. Hydria in Greece, though a barren rock unnoticed by antiquity, shot up into sudden greatness by giving a home and a free port to those who suffered by Turkish tyranny; and if any causes were at work to disorder the Latin or Etrurian cities, it is easy to believe that refugees may have rapidly aggrandized early Rome. In that stage of rudeness, indeed, it may be taken for granted that no distinction would be made between criminals and innocent men; the mixed multitude is not likely to have been much purer than the later Romans represented it: yet there is an undeniable superiority in such a mass of outlaws in rude over civilized times. Where all men carry arms, and

each has to defend himself, personal conflicts are of daily occurrence: the perpetrators of bloodshed are often among the best men in the community; and, if made outlaws, may prove very valuable citizens to the foreign town which welcomes them. Alban Rome was clearly a robber-city; yet we do not know it to have been stained with bloodthirsty treachery like the Mamertines of Messene. She is rather to be compared to the petty cities of early Greece, when they practised piracy without scruple, and gloried in it.

This stage of human society rises out of an immature morality difficult at first to understand. We are apt to imagine that men ready to shed blood for the gratification of their cupidity, can have no virtues at all: but this is an illusion similar to that of supposing that a man who finds his sport in slaying innocent animals is altogether savage. A line, not wholly arbitrary, is drawn between *our own* and *foreign* nations, as between men and brutes, which admits of cultivating many virtues in high perfection toward countrymen, while we disown all moral rights of the stranger. Unhappily, this immature morality propagates itself to a very late stage. Nations called Christians, and glorying in the gentleness of civilization, are often execrably cruel and unjust even toward one another, and much more toward those whom they call barbarians. In early Greece and Rome, as in early Germany, the same

principles were practised and avowed without disguise. No one criticised them; all in turn were ready to act upon them; and every successful warrior was honored by his own people, however great had been his injustice to the foreigner.

The received tale represents (what is every way likely) the mass of those who flocked to Rome as consisting of males; in consequence of which they resorted to violent means for carrying off young women from the neighboring tribes. This, if not true, is well invented. No measure could be more natural on their part; none more intensely resented by the neighbors.

The details of the story belong to popular imagination, and need not be repeated; but the chief cause for hesitating to adopt it in outline is, that it seems to allow too limited a period of existence to Alban Rome, and forces us to begin and end the tale in a still shorter time than a single reign. Had this been true, no tradition of anything ante-Sabine could well have come down to us; Romulus would have been no more to the Romans than Evander was. On the contrary, it seems that Alban Rome lasted long enough to enlarge her boundaries, and occupy the Tarpeian rock and the Capitol with a separate fortification. If women-stealing was occasioned by the opening of the asylum, it must have been a long-continued habit, and not a single act perpetrated at the festival of Con-

sus.* If, then, we may so tell the story, the Roman freebooters in a series of years by this unendurable offence (the atrocity of which has cast their mere robberies into oblivion), brought on themselves the hostility of neighboring towns, of which Cænina, Antemnæ, and Crustumerium, are specified. But, by Roman prowess (according to accounts which practise systematic falsification in military affairs), all these enemies were signally defeated: the king of Cænina was slain by the hand of the Roman king, who in gratitude consecrated the trophies of his foe to Jupiter Feretrius. In a later war he vows a temple to Jupiter Stator. In each case we are reminded of Greek religion. What else is Jupiter Stator than Ζεὺς σταδαῖος? And is not Ζεὺς Φερέτριος, to whom the trophies (τρόπαια) of enemies are offered, more in harmony with Greek notions and the Greek idiom, than Jupiter Feretrius with those of Latium?†

* The Consualia, afterward made into the Ludi Romani. Livy translates *Consus* into Neptunus Equestris. If this is correct (Ποσειδῶν ἵππιος), we have another mark of the prevalence of Greek religious notions at Rome in this era.

† Plutarch (Marcellus viii.) hints at the Greek influences at this time at work in Rome, when he gives the derivation of Feretrius from the φέρετρον or bier on which the trophies were carried. *Feretrum* appears to be a borrowed word, not formed within the Latin, and found only in poetry. Livy, in telling the story, prefers to use *ferculum*. Plutarch's description of the *spolia opima* here, as in his Romulus, shows them to be identical with the τρόπαια by which he renders them. Is it by accident that, when Marcellus wins the spolia opima, the senate sends a golden bowl, in thankfulness, *to the Pythian Apollo?* It seems as if such an event reminded them of Greek religion.

To Feretrius a temple was built on the summit of the Capitoline;* to Stator another on the northern edge of the Palatine, and within the walls of primitive Rome.

In the same era the festive solemnity called a Triumph is said to have been introduced, which combined the barbarous haughtiness of Rome with the Greek pride in trophies. In substance, it was a religious procession designed to commemorate a victory, and it stood in connection with the same Jupiter Feretrius to whom the trophies were dedicated. The most noble captives and the spoils taken in war went first toward the Capitol. The king, with garlands of bay round his temples, walked next. His troops followed, arranged in detachments, singing some national ditty to the god of victory, or uttering off-hand sayings of praise and sarcasm concerning the general.† When they reached the Cap-

Dionysius justly regards Φερέτριος as equivalent to Τροπαιοῦχος or Σκυλοφόρος, ii., 34; but when he adds a third equivalent Ὑπερφερέτης, he overdoes his work.

The *temple* to Feretrius was nothing but a very small chapel. Its ruins were to be seen in Dionysius's time, and the longer side measured less than fifteen feet.

* Dionys. ii., 34.

† The sarcasms against the general irresistibly remind us of the πομπαὶ of the Greeks, with whom such freedom of speech was allowed in their processions, that πομπεία took the sense of "ribaldrous invective." The Greek word most nearly equivalent in sense to *triumphus* is πομπή: but in sound the representative is θρίαμβος, a song to Bacchus. With the latter, Benfey connects διθύραμβος: but the primitive thought is very uncertain. The Latin word is evidently foreign, if only on account of the *ph*; yet this can not have come from β of the

itol, a sacrifice was offered before the temple of Jupiter Feretrius; the trophies or spoils were presented to the god, and the captives were pitilessly beheaded. In later times, when the spoils of war became more costly, the pomp of a triumph was immensely increased, and the general rode in a four-horse triumphal car. The old sculptures, however, preserved the traditionary belief that Romulus had marched on foot.

Under the republic, several Roman generals, to whom the senate refused a triumph, marched of their own authority up the Alban mount, and so celebrated the solemnity without leave. From this circumstance it has been inferred that the custom was borrowed from the Latins, and that the Alban mount was its primitive and appropriate place. Undoubtedly rejoicings of this kind are so natural, as to make it probable enough that the Latins had something of the kind; but no new strength is added to this probability by the fact under notice. Outside of the city the general had full power over his troops. To select the Alban mount as a substi-

Greeks. Either of the two primitive ideas might serve to explain the word: (1.) Marching to a dancing-step. If θρίαμβος meant a particular pace or step, διθύραμβος might be a double step: and this is nearly Benfey's notion. In that case, θυραμβος, θρίαμβος might remind us of the northern *tramp*. (2.) It may mean shouting with joy —"Io! Triumphe!"—If so, we may think of *trumpet*. The French *tromper*, "to deceive," may also seem primitively to have meant "to brag," ἀλαζονεύειν. From the Latin triumphus comes *to trump* in card-playing.

tute for the Capitoline was a natural resource, because the place became sacred from the time of its desolation; and Jupiter Latiaris had a temple there, at which the consuls every year offered sacrifice.

It has appeared that many of the notices of public religion in this era have something of a Greek color. Hercules and the Lupercalia, hereditary priesthood, the asylum, Equestrian Poseidon, Zeus Stadaios and Tropaiouchos, to say nothing of such names as the Agonian hill and the Argean chapels, more nearly remind us of Greece. And this has a greater appearance of reality, because it is not worked up by a Dionysius, who might have had an argument to serve by it, but comes out piecemeal and as it were of itself. Not that any real *identity* of religion with Greece is to be inferred from these things: indeed, within Greece itself it is hard to say that Dorian and Ionian religion were identical; but the similarity is something more than accident,* and implies that religious notions fundamentally Greek exercised great force in Rome before the Sabines introduced the great revolution to which we shall presently proceed.

As the people of Romulus looked solely to warlike achievments for wealth or well-being, a large population was a primary need. Hence not only were those received who came voluntarily, but the

* Herodotus tells us of Greek religion practised by the Gelonians in Scythia, who lived with the Budinians.

inhabitants of neighboring towns who proved unable to resist, were often transferred in mass to Rome, according to the policy of Syracusan or Assyrian tyrants, where they were received as citizens on equal terms. This, in the opinion of Plutarch,* above all things, forwarded the aggrandizement of the city. We are not, however, to suppose that within Rome itself there was democratic equality. That the relations of patron and client can yet have subsisted in any such formality as Cicero believed, is scarcely credible: but we may be sure that martial ability was the first source of honor, and that trusty companions gathered round brave leaders, who became the chief men of the state. Foreigners would be admitted on the same footing; their chieftains becoming chief men in Rome—their followers a mere populace. In Sabine times the adoption of new citizens was made a solemnly religious act; and when Rome at length became a close aristocracy, she showed herself very niggardly as to bestowing the rights of citizenship. She gave but seldom, and then, for the most part, only imperfect rights. But during the kingly period, the aristocracy had little or nothing to lose politically, and had much to gain in a military sense, by free adoption of brave men; and although we can not have documentary proof concerning Alban Rome, the spirit which survived to the end of the monarchy

* Romul. 16.

assures us that the primitive policy, when no one religion domineered, can not have been less liberal.

The later Romans loved to conceive of their state as organized with all dignity and sage wisdom under Romulus. Hence they give us a systematic account of his senate, and the divisions of the nation which he established. That he had some kind of council, may be believed; but no detail can be trusted. That in this earliest period the Roman territory was divided into three tribes, called Tities, Ramnes, Luceres—whence three squadrons of horse were drawn as the king's body-guard—is highly probable. The three names, as Varro states,* were Tuscan; and the antiquity of this division led to its being retained in name, although (as far as we can find) it was already a shadow in the reign of the elder Tarquin. But that the thirty curies of Rome came down from this Romulian period, is not to be believed; for, by the testimony of all the ancients, the names of the curies were Sabine; and it will afterward appear that they probably formed part of a system which introduced a larger number of tribes.

* On the authority of Volumnius, who wrote Tuscan Tragedies; Varro de Lingua Lat., v. 9. The attempted derivation of Tities from *Titus Tatius*, and Ramnes from *Romulus*, appears to me an exceedingly weak foundation for thinking that the Tities were Sabines, the Ramnes Latins, *and the Luceres Etruscans*. Göttling feels the difficulty involved, when Tullus Hostilius brings in so many Alban patricians; for if they must needs be added to the Ramnes, it will make that tribe too powerful. To me the whole idea appears without a basis. See also on the reign of Numa.

In the opinion of Tacitus, Romulus was a despotic king: but Tacitus is a bad authority concerning the beginnings of nations. We must perhaps rest in the general probability that the successive heads or kings of Alban Rome (however many are concealed under the name of Romulus)—as captains of a people to whom warlike interests were all in all—exercised a severely despotic discipline with high approbation, as long as they were successful in war, and just in the partition of spoil: and that, though no written law defined the rights of the king, and no precedents can have grown up to give strength to a senate, yet brave and turbulent men, with arms in their hands, knew how to prevent their leader's authority from degenerating into tyranny. The sway of an Arab chieftain is a familiar modern example of this sort of sovereignty.

Such is the best idea to be gathered concerning Alban Rome, which rose as a city formidable to all the neighbors by the free development of a military system, under chieftains perhaps not less scrupulous than in other rude and warlike nations. But the first definite fact in their relations with foreigners which may be rested on as certain, is, the fall which they encountered from the grave and severe Sabines of Cures, an equally brave and more systematically-disciplined race.

PART II.

SABINE ROME.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SABINES.

The Sabines were an important branch of the great central people of Italy; and as they dwelt between the Tiber and the Anio (or *Teverone*), they almost touched on Rome. They were closely akin to the Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, in the south; to the Marsians and Picenians in the northeast; and down to imperial times were celebrated for austere simplicity of taste, and uncorrupt, rustic manners. In many respects similar to the Dorians of Greece (insomuch that they readily admitted the fiction* that they were a Lacedæmonian colony), they were proud of living in unwalled villages, as

* Dionys. ii., 49. Plut. Rom., 16.

men who had sufficient defence in warlike weapons. The highlands of the Apennines appear as their natural home: only in the fruitful Campania did one branch of the nation become enervated by sloth and luxury. Göttling has well characterized their earliest social system by the term *patriarchal.* In it each family, or rather, in a wider sense, each clan, was in some sense a separate state, and the nation was a confederacy of clans, which had little unity except for the purposes of war. Every clan had religious ceremonies peculiar to itself, and could make laws to regulate the conduct of its own members: hence in process of time many clans gained marked peculiarities of dress or habits, which they made a pride of retaining, even when they were all swallowed up in the great community of Latin Rome. Each individual of the clan bore its name, out of which afterward rose consequences more important than could have been foreseen.

The state of society in which the oldest Sabines lived, it has been ingeniously observed,* seems to have originated the Homeric conception of a Cyclops—a fierce and arbitrary being, who dwells on the tops of hills and tends his flocks, responsible to no one, but "giving laws to his children and to his wife." Slavery had no general existence, but every noble family had dependents permanently attached

* Göttling (Sabiner, § 3). Not but that the Sicanians were a nearer type, at least in geography. See Diodor. v., 6.

to it, who were called its clients. It was a system of high but kindly aristocracy. The client, like the Russian serf, was attached to his patron or lord as to a father and a friend. The whole clan was, in theory, or rather in feeling, a single large family, accustomed to yield the guidance of all external affairs to its leader, as absolutely as Arabs to their sheikh. When we have the most positive assurances that every father in Sabine Rome possessed power of life and death over his grown-up son—and that the father might sell him into slavery, and resume his rights over him twice, if twice set free—we must be prepared to believe in the high authority of the chieftain over the serf. Yet as all the dignity of the patron depended on the number and well-being of his clients—as their swords and their properties were his to use on every great exigency—it is not to be looked on as poetical fiction that he zealously cared for their physical welfare, and by kindly intercourse sustained their local sympathies. This effect was ascribed by later writers to the influence of religious oaths which bound the parties together; but, independently of religion, a Sabine chief had little more temptation to oppress his client than to be cruel to his son. Both of them crouched before his anger, both of them rejoiced in his greatness and pomp. To each was assigned his appropriate external comforts: custom and public opinion regulated the payments made by the culti-

vator; and the hardy peasant was satisfied with so little, that he must have been a cruel lord indeed who grudged that little.

Many modern writers seem unable to conceive such a relation of lord and serf, except where it is founded on conquest by foreigners; yet there are instances to the contrary so clear, that to impute a conquest is gratuitous. A future generation, on learning how peasants in the Scotch highlands have been driven off the soil by the representatives of the chieftains for whom their fathers' broadswords won it, will be in danger of mistaking these free, hardy, and much-injured men, for a conquered and inferior race. And in fact there is not only a very great similarity, in the relations between a chief of the Gaelic clans and his vassals, to those between a Sabine patron and his client,* but, in so far as lan-

* The meaning of the word Client is uncertain, though Patron, its correlative, is so clear. Niebuhr thinks it is for Cluens, "hearing," that is, "obeying." But *cluo* in Latin does not mean *to hear*, much less *to obey* — but, to be spoken of, to be renowned. Ihne believes that Cliens is identical with Colonus; and certainly the Clientes have strong likenesses to the Coloni of the declining empire. I, however, suspect that the Gaelic *clann*, *cloinne*, "children," is the root, answering to *patronus*. The "clan" of a Highland chief means his "children," and they are his *clientes*. The only objection to this is, that Patron is not Gaelic; for the Gaels say Athair for Pater. We may, however, believe that the P was specially lost by the northern branch of Kelts in this word, as in Uirc, Iasg, for Puirc, piasg; *porcus*, *piscis*. The Welsh correlative to the Gaelic *clann* is *plant*, "offspring" — with initial P for Gaelic C, as in so many other words: and the final *t* suggests that the Sabines may have said *clant* or *client*. [I now find in Dennis's Etruria that *clan* in Etruscan is believed to mean *filius* or *natus*.]

guage is any test of blood, it would appear that the Sabines and the Gaels are of nearer kindred than Irish and Welsh. The patriarchal authority is not easily abused to griping and heartless covetousness in the rude days when chief and clansman live in daily sight of one another, as in an Arab tribe; when men are valuable for bravery and devotedness, and not only for the rent which they pay; and when the arts of life are so little advanced, that the great use of wealth is to maintain a more gorgeous retinue. But when, with the progress of art and political development, the chief covets the land for the sake of rent and not of men, and a custom has hardened into law which enables him to appear as owner of the soil, the relation of patron to client is liable to become one of antagonism, and frequently of bitter hostility, as in republican Rome.

That the Sabine patron was to his clients, in an economical and commercial sense, as landlord to tenants,* appears an *à-priori* certainty. Two propositions are undeniable: that the patron did not need to labor for his own subsistence; and that the land was the sole source of annual income to the

* I am indebted for this view to my friend Dr. William Ihne, now of Liverpool. In his able book, "*Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Römischen Verfassungs Geschichte*," he has shown a mind that penetrates to the bottom of scholastic controversies, and remarkably fresh in dealing with what seemed to have been exhausted. While I have fundamentally adopted what is his view concerning the clients, I perhaps shall be found not quite to agree with his working out of it in detail: yet I hardly think he will feel any strong objections.

chieftains collectively. Revenues from manufactures or houses, from customs and excise, even from mines, quarries, or salt-works, are not to be thought of, in such a stage of society, as anything but a very rare exception. If the patron lived, without labor, from the labor of others, whether as shepherds or as husbandmen, who else can these others have been but his clients? And this the Greeks felt, when they expressed the word clients by πέλαται.

When Attus Clausus the Sabine came from Regillus to Rome at the beginning of the republic, at the head of a clan of five thousand fighting men,* he received lands for his followers on Roman soil, where they were made the nucleus of the Claudian tribe. In a few years he must have become a poor man, or at least dependent on the yearly earnings of his sword, unless some *rent* from his clients had been reserved for him. Whatever wealth in silver and copper, in stuff and in cattle, he may have brought with him, must soon have been dissipated, unless the land itself replenished them. So long as a purely agricultural or pastoral state subsisted, the children of clients naturally became clients to the same patron or his representative. The younger branches of the patron's family — brothers, nephews, and cousins — no doubt were welcome at the table of the head of the clan, and formed his most devoted body-guard. Such a state of things was familiar in

* So Dionysius (v. 40) estimates them.

the middle ages, and in Homeric Greece. Thus the whole nation split itself into two parts, nobles and populace, or patricians and plebeians;* although it is probable that the Sabine patrician, like Laertes or the elder Cato, never felt that disdain for personal service in agriculture which characterized a feudal gentleman. For a patrician Cincinnatus to hold the plough, was rare and strange; but such a deed excited pity or admiration, with certainly no shade of contempt. Such were the simple Sabine virtues which later Rome praised, but had no desire to imitate.

The sharp contrast of nobles and serfs naturally forbade intermarriage between the two orders: nobles, of course, intermarried only with nobles. But in time this grew into positive law; so that in a later stage, *religious* objections are pretended against allowing the patrician, if willing, to give his daughter in marriage to a plebeian, or accept a plebeian daughter as his son's wife. It is true that the religious objections turn on the assumption that the plebeian has different sacred rites from the patrician; which is probably interpreted to mean that the patrician practised Sabine ceremonies, while the plebeians in that period were predominantly Latin and retained Latin religion. But the reluctance was really based

* This is said by Cicero of Romulus, and may be safely applied at least to the Sabino-Roman system: "Habuit plebem in clientelas principum descriptam."—De Rep. ii., 8.

on aristocratic haughtiness; nor can we doubt the sharp division of noble from vulgar families among the Sabines themselves.

Marriage among the Sabines was a ceremony of extraordinary sanctity, and its result rather paradoxical. The bride was by it given "into the hand" of her bridegroom, so as to fall (according to the Roman lawyers) into the condition of his *daughter*. Thus every husband, married with Sabine ceremonies, possessed the same power over the life of his wife as a father over that of his child. The wife became a partaker of all the sacred rites of the clan, and inherited (on her husband's death) as a daughter. But for valid marriage it was requisite that both parties should be possessed of *patrician auspices;* for in devotion to this art they even surpassed the Latins; and the attendance of an augur even in a private family was essential to the due celebration of marriage.

The Sabines were indeed a remarkably religious nation. Their morality was sharply defined, eminently positive, and overruling to the whole outward conduct. They knew how to die for duty, and saw duty as the enforcement of God. Like the North American savage, they had great power of self-devotion, high dignity and self-respect, and a generally pervading sternness. Yet their religion can not be called a cruel one: such atrocities as the burying alive of vestal virgins were mere excep-

tions. It was on its purely religious side unusually simple and pleasing: but its morality had a strong dash of unreasoning superstition. That it treated foreigners as a natural prey, is no more than may be said of all ancient religion. Like every system which makes more of obedience than of truth, it was capable of degenerating into punctilious observances, while neglecting great moralities: and this was its odious aspect in later Rome, where it held its ground, unchanged in form by the progress of knowledge. In common with the Latins, the Sabines held auguries to be the peculiar mode of access to the Divine will; and for all ordinary matters of importance, public or private, they watched the flight of birds.

A frugal, hardy people, living solely by an unimproved agriculture or natural pasture, with uncorrupt, healthy habits, on the highlands of Italy, may double its numbers every thirty years, and will rapidly experience a redundancy of men: hence, every half-century, a restless pushing onward of the highland tribes, sure, though slow, like the downward movement of the glacier. This it was which in the course of a few centuries brought the Sabines and their kindred along the whole Italian peninsula, and occasioned so many changes and mixtures of population. In fact, this was an ordinary process with most nations, and "among many of the barbarians

and of the Greeks"* migrations to find new abodes by the sword were methodized and consecrated by religion.

If we can believe our informants, a sacred Spring was proclaimed; during which, whatever was born belonged to the national god, or to some particular god. All the children were dedicated and set apart as sacred; and when they attained a full military age, were sent out as under the Divine guidance to win for themselves new abodes, whether peacefully or by conquest: after which they became a wholly independent people. In this manner many of the Italian nations arose, with new distinctive names. To us it may appear wonderful that a rude people, who had begun to suffer from excessive numbers, could bear to wait some five-and-twenty years before migrating: and unless there is some inaccuracy or confusion in the account, we seem forced to infer that the sacred Spring was held at fixed intervals, whether there was or was not felt a redundancy of numbers: and even so, it must have been held very often, to be any adequate relief. It, however, appears that (on whatever grounds) a particular branch of the Sabines was dedicated to the god of the spear, whom they called Quirinus, and themselves Quirites. Ancient authors represent them as settled at Cures, before they invaded Rome. Opinions were divided whether the name Quirites came

* Dionys. i., 16.

from Cures, or from the Sabine word *curis*, *quiris*, "a spear:" but until it is shown that Cures can not also have come from the same root, there is no proved disagreement in the two explanations. We happen here to have a clew, which the Romans had not. The Gaelic language has numerous words in common with the Latin; and gives us *coir* (sounded *quîr*), "a spear;" *curaidh*, "a warrior"—the similarity of which to *quir* and *quirite* sets at rest the question what Quirite meant. As to Quirinus, he was worshipped under the emblem of a spear, like the Scythian Mars; for the Sabines, rather perhaps from the low state of the arts than from religious principle, used no images of the gods. Dedicated to this Quirinus, the Quirites or *warriors* probably needed no such affront as the rape of their women to bring their arms against Alban Rome; but at least when thus assailed, they came forth under their patron-god to take just vengeance on the people of Romulus.

Several traits in the description of those early Sabines deserve notice, as connecting their manners with Keltic nations. They bore the oblong Gaulish or Ligurian shield, named *scutum;* a broadsword, *gladius*, and a leathern helmet, *galea*—all of them words peculiar* to the Gaelic and Erse. The Sabines, moreover, like the Gauls,† wore heavy gold

* I do not believe that *scutum* comes from σκύτος.

† Concerning the Gauls, besides the well-known descriptions in Livy and Virgil, see Diodor. v., 27, for details.

bracelets or other ornaments, as the Agathyrsians in Herodotus.

No details of the war between the Romulians and the Sabines can be received as historical; but several broad results are clear. The Sabines took by storm the Capitol, and the citadel or Tarpeian rock, on the two ends of the Capitoline hill. They established their own principal abode on the northern hill, which was from them called the Quirinal. They united themselves into a single state with Rome; but gave to Rome an entirely new stamp, from Sabine religion and Sabine political institutions. Religion and politics were, in fact, but one: all public acts were religious; all magistracy, and eminently the royal office, was sacred: nay, every "warrior comrade" was a sacred person, as will more fully appear in the character of the Roman patricians. This domination of Sabine institutions can only be ascribed to their superior force, and assures us that Rome was virtually conquered by them.* The resistance of the Romans seems to have been stubborn enough to buy good terms from the conquerors; who wisely judged that it was better to have them as comrades and equals (*cives*), than carry on a dangerous war of extermination or attempt to turn them into vassals: but the equality was tendered and accepted under the condition that

* Ihne states this outright; Niebuhr runs close to it, vol. i., p. 292 (translation).

Sabine institutions should henceforth be the groundwork of the state; only those old religions at special sanctuaries being retained which common piety forbade to neglect. Thus not only were the Romulian temples and the rites of the old *montani* and *pagani* respected, but Jupiter Indiges was worshipped on the banks of the Numicius, and the Penates at Lavinium. The three Tuscan tribes, Tities, Ramnes, Luceres, also retained their names in the organization of the squadrons of horse.

Concerning the personality of Titus Tatius, the alleged king of these Sabines, nothing can be said. His pretended joint-reign with Romulus seems to be a legend adapted to veil the Sabine conquest: nor is there any fact concerning him that can be confidently believed, although we can not doubt that the Quirites *had* really a king when they established themselves at Rome, who may possibly have been called Tatius.

The ultimate prevalence of the Latin over the Sabine tongue in Rome itself, even before the monarchy was extinct, testifies how small an element the Sabines were in the whole Roman population. It may even suggest that, like the Normans in England, the lower Sabines, who had been mere clients before the conquest, often rose into nobles or patricians in Rome; and that the rest, by intermarriage with native Roman plebeians, gave birth to a progeny which in Sabine estimate had no claim to the

sacred auspices and other nuptial ceremonies. Much obscurity rests on the question whether the plebeian Sabines in Rome, who were clients in the strictest sense, had or had not admission to Sabine religion, from which we know that the plebeians in Rome who were *not* Sabine were excluded. To *some* sacred rites they must have been admissible, since the connection of client and patron was ratified by religion. The whole difficulty, however, vanishes, if we believe that in two or three generations the remaining clients of the Sabine patricians had "lost caste" (as a Hindu would express it) by intermarriages with the older population.

Although, before long, the distinction of Romulian and Sabine was lost in Rome, yet at first, it is credible, they dwelt principally in their own quarters. The name of the *Quirinal* hill seems to mark it as a special abode of the people of Quirinus; but we have no reason to imagine that any legal regulation kept the two races apart.

A difficulty here occurs, which perhaps can not be solved, but ought to be noticed. How is it that the patriarchal Sabines had a fixed and energetic royalty? The formalities of an *interregnum* (which will presently be detailed) are so emphatically Sabine, that they can not have been borrowed from Rome; nor can they have grown up into so severely rigid a system in a small number of reigns. It seems requisite to select one of two hypotheses. That the

patriarchal system was fully developed, before the royalty existed, must in any case be assumed: then we may suppose, either—first, that elective royalty, with all the formalities of the interregnum, grew up to maturity at Cures, and was naturally transferred to Rome at the election of Numa; or, secondly, if we receive Cicero's* statement to the letter, that an interregnum was a wholly new thing in the time of Numa, and unheard of among other nations, we must suppose that it did not spring up so perfect all at once, but gradually took its fixed shape by the repeated precedents at the elections of the Sabino-Roman kings; who, as will afterward be said, were probably far more numerous than the three names —Numa, Tullus, Ancus—which alone the distant tradition has preserved for us.

On the authority of Zenodotus of Troezen, an historian of the Umbrians, Dionysius tells us that the Sabines were once called Umbrians, namely, as long as they lived among that people; from which it is inferred that they were a branch of the Umbrian race. Other ancient writers are silent on the subject, and the inference appears extremely weak. Admitting it as true, there must still have been a very great difference of dialect between the language of the Eugubine Tables and that which the later Romans called Sabine: indeed, everything that

* De Rep. ii., 12.

passes for Umbrian abounds in the letter *r*, which, as in the Elean and Spartan dialect of Greek, exterminates final *s;* while the Sabines are said to have often used *s* for *r*, as in *fasena* for *arena.* Perhaps such antiquated forms as *asa* for *ara*, *lases* for *lares*, are strictly Sabine.

In attempting to judge for ourselves of the Sabine language, we have as data—first, certain words reported to us by the ancients as Sabine and not Latin, or not without some modification; secondly, words which we may probably conjecture to be originally Sabine, though incorporated with the tongue, first of Rome and hence of all Latium, viz., various politico-religious or military words. Both sets appear to me to indicate that the Sabines were Keltic, and Kelts nearer to the Gaelic or Erse than to the Welsh branch. Although the subject can not be here fully treated, illustrations may be given from the latter source. The letters G. W. stand for Gaelic and Welsh:—

MILITARY AND POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS WORDS, MANY OF WHICH ARE LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN SABINE.

Arma.....G. arm
Gladius...G. claidheamh
W. cleddyv
Lamina ...W. llavn
G. laun
Telum ....G. tailm
(root *Tal*, cut)

Hasta... } E. astas, astal
Hastile . } W. aseth, asethol
Germ. ast
Galea....E. galia
Scutum ...G. sgiath
Tragula...E. treagh, *a spear; trident* or *fish-spear*

Cohors . . . G. gort *(enclosed place)*
Caterva . . . W. catorva, = cad torva, *battle-troop*
Catapulta* = G. cath tabhal, *battle-sling*
Sagitta . . . G. saighead
Parma . . . . W. parvais
Pilum . . . . W. pilwrn
Lorica . . . G. luireach
Balteus . . . G. balt
Murus . . . . W. mur
Mœnia . . . W. maen, *a stone*
Vallum . . . W. gwal
G. fal, and balle
Præda . . . . W. praidh, *a herd; booty*
Spolia . . . . G. spùill
Torquis . . . W. torch
Monile . . . G. fail-muineil
Corona . . . G. W. coron
Catena . . . W. cadwen
Carcer . . . W. carchar
Turma. } W. torva, tyrva
Turba. . }
Numerus . . W. niver
Gloria . . . . G. gloir
Clades. . } W. llaith
Lethum. }

Miles . . . . . W. milwr
Centurio . . W. canwriad
Castrum . . . W. cader, *strong*, caer, *castle*
Cuspis . . . . G. cusp, *a kibe;* cuspair, *marksman*
Rex . . . . . G. righ
Populus . . . W. pobl
G. pobull
E. pobal?
Senatus . . . G. seanadh
Quirit . . . . G. curaidh
Quiris . . . . G. coir
Curia . . . . . *French*, cour
G. cùirt, *court*
Tribus . . . . G. treubh
W. trev, *village and its land*
Lex . . . . . G. lagh, and dlighe
Fas . . . . . W. fas, *a band or fastening; whence* fasg, *bundle*
Jus . . . . . G. dior, *suitable, becoming*
E. deas and dior
Cives . . . . *comrades and equals?*

* The Greek derivation from πάλλω is highly doubtful.

Cives ....W. cyvu, *to unite in equality*
Plebs.....W. plwyf and lliaws; cf. λαός
Ritus.....W. rhaith? *(oath* and *law)*, rheithio *(to establish a rule)*
Ordo.....W. urdh
Seculum..W. sicl, *a wind, a round*
Bulla.....G. bulla
Toga.....W. twyg
Pallium...G. peall, *shaggy hide*
Carmen...G. gairm, *a proclamation*
Amtruo....W. amtroi, *to turn round*
Augur, *probably from* auca, *a bird* (in Gaulish), and cur, *care* (in Welsh); G. curam
Tripudium, *from* tir, *earth, and* put, *to push*—i. e., strike? Gaelic.
Repudium, *from* put, *to push*
Faustus...W. fawdus, *fortunate;* faw, *brilliant;* fawd, *good luck*

In the Classical Museum (before referred to) I have tried to show that these names of warlike and political things *are* native to Keltic, while very few of them bear marks of being native to Latin. I have also essayed to explain some other known Sabine words by the Gaelic or Gaulish.

CHAPTER V.

SABINE INSTITUTIONS IN ROME.

The most prominent institution was undoubtedly the SENATE, which nevertheless exercised only a small part of the power which it attained after the extinction of royalty. Indeed, it was originally subjected to certain restrictions, marks of which remained to the very latest times.

As in Homeric Greece we see the king consult his council on all great occasions; as also the German chieftain or king did not dare to determine on peace or war without sounding his leading warriors —so from the beginning did the Latin and Sabine kings need a senate or great council. This was the first element and witness of constitutional freedom, although only in the germ. The forms and regulations of the Roman senate we must regard as Sabine, because we can trust nothing of what is said concerning the senate of Romulus. The Sabino-Roman king called to his senate whomever he pleased; but those whom he had once summoned, took their place permanently: hence his power was

comparable to that of an English sovereign, who calls any subject at will to the house of peers. Yet public opinion restricts the use of this prerogative. A king invested with it will indeed often* *pass by* persons who might have been made senators; but he can not insult the senate by bringing low people into it, unless he is prepared like Tarquin the Proud, Sulla, or Julius Cæsar, to trample down decorum and precedent. Thus practically a Roman senate represented the highest aristocracy, at least as truly as does an English house of peers. But its deliberations and actions were not as free; for it was oppressed by the majesty of the king's presence, and in this respect was more like our privy council. Let us conceive how an English house of lords would debate, if it never met, except with the king to preside. *His* speech would be first heard. No one would dare to reply until invited by name. None but he could originate any measure, or dictate to what business the house should proceed. Such were the limitations under which, to the latest period of the republic, the Roman senate was subjected: for the consuls and prætors who held it retained all the symbols and forms of the old sovereignty.

The other Sabine institutions of Rome are as-

* See Festus, *Præteriti Senatores*—which suffices to prove that Niebuhr's theory of the old Roman senate having been elected by the curies, is quite untenable.

cribed in the common histories to King Numa. In fact, the first king of this race who reigned in Rome is said to have been slain prematurely at Lavinium, whither he went to offer sacrifice, as the consuls in later times to the sacred Penates. The story admits not of criticism. It may be true: but when the only result of it is a renewing of the treaty between Rome and Lavinium, we find a gap which is ill supplied by the fiction of Romulus's jealousy or justice. On the death of the king, the state returned to its first elements: magistracy had vanished, and needed to be reconstructed.

Nothing is more characteristic of Sabino-Roman notions than the phenomena seen at an *interregnum*, which was in fact a "provisional government" methodized and limited by precedent. With us, the death or resignation of an elective king would seem so far from a reason why all other magistrates should resign, that it would rather lead them to exercise extraordinary powers, especially with the view of appointing a successor. Nevertheless, the death of a king or even of a prime minister dissolves a cabinet: and in a democracy like the United States, the death of a president* might leave the

* To avoid this, the vice-president steps into the president's place. But if the vice-president were likewise to die soon after, the country would be without any supreme executive. Becker (Rom. Antt. *Interregnum*) excellently develops this subject.

[The author has here fallen into an error, as Congress has provided, in obedience to the constitution, that, in the event of the death

country without a government until a new president had been elected. Perhaps this is the nearest analogy which modern society affords. The chief officers of Rome under the king were the warden of the city and the captain of the horse; who were probably originally appointed by the king's *single will*, and therefore lost their powers by his death.* In consequence, political life was temporarily annihilated; the state-machine had stopped, and needed to be wound up by a force from without — which, however, resided in the collective aristocracy.

Whether under such circumstances the senate was able (without a presiding officer) to vote at all, we do not know. They certainly could not pass a decree (*senatûs consultum*, *decretum*): they possibly might express the sentiment (as an *auctoritas*) that it was "expedient for the patres to put forward an interrex." (See Liv. iii., 40.) Whether the senate did or did not thus vote, the warrior-chiefs certainly assembled for the purpose,† summoned by no ma-

of both the president and vice-president, the president *pro tempore* of the senate shall fill the place until the disability be removed by a new election; so that the country can in no event be without an executive head. — Am. Publisher.]

* Under the earlier kings, it can not be proved that there were any *quæstors*. Lydus speaks of Tullus as creating such officers, but it is probable that he mistook the well-known *duumviri* for quæstors.

† The formula was, "Patricii (or patres) coeunt ad prodendum interregem." It is not certain whether, in creating an interrex, the patricians voted *by curies*, or as individuals; but the word "coire," and the uniform absence of the term *curiatim*, suggests that they

gistrate, and by proceedings, the details of which are unknown, selected a provisional magistrate with due augural observances. The *interrex* thus "put forward," summoned the Quirites to their legitimate assembly, and presided over the creation of a new chief magistrate. Such is the rudest theory. But in practice, the first interrex always held the election of a second; and the second, or one afterward, proceeded to the election of ordinary magistrates. At least under the republic it became a constitutional rule that there must be a second interrex. It may be conjectured that the first election was too tumultuous, or at least too unceremonious, for Sabine scrupulosity: it perhaps was like the rude modern process of adopting a chairman. But the second interrex was actually elected by a formal and constitutional voting. During the early period, the Quirites strikingly manifested the great principle that the nation is the source of the royal power, by the formula of decision: "*The people orders* Numa Pompilius or Ancus *to be king.*"

In this way, not political power only, but religious consecration also, was vested in the patrician Quirites as its ultimate earthly possessors: in fact, they retained the religious element of authority centuries after they had lost the political. The Roman king, or after him the consul, is justly called a "sa-

met as unorganized units, exactly as in a voluntary public meeting in England.

cerdotal" officer; but he was not* *the fountain* of sanctity to the state: far from it. On the contrary, the primitive people (*populus*), the Sabine Quirite chieftains — afterward called patricians, in contrast to the new plebeians — were themselves the fountain of sanctity even to the king and consul. The Roman formula, in the case of an interregnum, was: "The auspices come back to the patricians (*patres*)," the effect of which is peculiarly striking, when, by reason of some flaw in the auspices, all the magistrates have resigned. For, upon such loss of sacred virtue, an unfailing cure is found in getting the auspices fresh from the fountain, that is, from the bosom of the patrician society, which was prior to the state, and was the parent of all state religion, as well as of state authority.

But, although the power of the king was thus confessedly a derived one, it was very energetic. The warriors who conferred it on him were stern disciplinarians, and were accustomed, alike in their families and in the state, to a rigorous enforcement of obedience.† As long, therefore, as a king used his

* It is wonderful that Rubino, in his learned and striking treatise on the Romish constitution, should rest so much on the opposite assumption. According to him, all sanctity in Rome was *transmissive*, and came down from some primitive source hidden in antiquity (ch. i.). With equal overstraining, he calls the royalty "the fountain of all right, private or public" (p. 121).

† The Tartar sovereigns, successors of Jenghis Khan, were elected; yet, after election, were eminently despotic. This rises out of military necessities in a conquering nation.

power for public objects, he was in appearance despotic, and eminently so while acting as military leader. Although custom, and not written law, regulated his proceedings, yet to the important step of declaring war he needed the consent of his senate, and possibly, on great occasions at least, he sought that of the general assembly of the Quirites also. The senate, as we have said, was chosen by him, but was not, on that account, a mere dependent body, since it undoubtedly contained all his chief nobles, who were not removable from it, and it enjoyed high public consideration. Just so, at present, the sultan of Turkey, though in theory despotic, asks advice of his council, as well as of his cabinet, in matters which involve war or peace.

The mode of voting in the general assembly was peculiar, and marks the more complicated political organization of the Italian than of the Grecian nations. The Quirites were divided into thirty corporations, called *curies* (courts?) and the vote of each was decided separately, and reported by the officer of each, called a curio; after which the majority of the curies* decided the vote of the whole assembly. It was not a deliberative body. No in-

* See the antique formula in Livy, i. 32. Dionysius represents the people as possessing the right of declaring war and peace, from the time of Romulus downward. He also introduced immense confusion, by positively declaring that the curiate assembly was a democratic and indeed plebeian body. The opposite now appears an axiom to us; but Niebuhr was the first to clear up this point.

dividual was free to speak in it. Only the king or his representative might address them, after which he asked them to reply "yes" or "no" on the matter which he laid before them. And this circumstance must have given to the senate a very high influence in the election of a king; for the curies can not have suggested *who* was to be admitted as a candidate. The names needed to be presented by the interrex, and it will hardly be imagined that he was empowered to follow his own judgment in the matter. He must have first held the senate, and from its deliberations have decided on the name* to be proposed. If the curies had ever refused the person thus nominated, we can only conjecture that the senate must have fixed on a second, and so on until there was agreement. In such a relation of the senate and the assembly, the sovereignty belongs in theory to the latter; only, to avoid confusion and secure for it an unembarrassed action, a presiding council was an essential organ. We see nearly the same phenomena among ourselves, wherever there is a numerous voluntary society, and a small committee to manage its affairs. But while, as compared to the senate, the curies must be called a democratic body, they did not include all the population, but at most only householders; in which

* This, indeed, is Plutarch's representation of Numa's election. Dionysius agrees to it.

aspect they were called *patres*,* or fathers of families. As a legislative assembly, they constituted the *populus*, or *nation*, and during the early reigns contained the mass of the true Quirites or warrior-comrades, who associated on terms of equality.

All who were not included among the *patres* were called *plebs*, or *populace*, and a large part of these were related, as clients,† to particular patrician families. The Sabine chiefs, we may take for granted, like Appius Claudius afterward, brought in their clients with them. Though it is probable that Alban Rome had no similar institution, still, when the Roman nobles were introduced into the thirty curies with Sabine religious rites, the tendency to assimilation must have been overpowering, and the Sabine principle was sure to predominate. So far, therefore, as the country population was concerned, who were or became custom-paying tenants, an attempt would be made to extend the principle of clientage to all. In Rome itself there was at every time, despised and dreaded by the nobility, a mass of rabble, who, gaining their livelihood as artisans or petty shopmen, paid no court to the

* Horat. Quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere *patres*.

† Niebuhr denies that "clients were plebeians." Perhaps this is either a truism or falsehood, according as we define the word plebeian. But when Niebuhr asserts, against Dionysius (ii. 10), who is confessedly the chief authority in this matter, that the children of clients were *under legal necessity* to take up their father's clientage, it amazes me that he is followed by Göttling and Becker. Such a notion involves the history in inextricable confusion.

great. These were a part of the plebs, or populace, yet (if the above is correct) were not clients. On the other hand, after the Sabine institutions had taken root, the sons of country tenants would, as in England, migrate to the town, from the unexpansiveness of rural industry; and continuing, in Sabine fashion, to pay court to the head of their clan, they would be the nucleus of a growing clientage established in Rome, the more acceptable to the patricians resident there, from its nearness to their persons. In the course of time it might be predicted that some estrangement would take place between the patricians and their country clients, if the former addicted themselves to a town life, and became mere exacters of rent. Nevertheless, the tie was knit afresh by military enterprise; for it can hardly be doubted that, at this stage of the Roman state, every patron went out to war attended by his own clients; so that the patrons virtually were to the king as feudal barons, who furnished each his contingent of troops to the royal army.

Whether, in these early times, the patrician had power to eject his dependants from their land, was, perhaps, a question not as yet mooted: no one dreamed of such an act, any more than in feudal England. The patrician coveted followers still more than payments. Rent, also, was in all probability fixed by custom, as in modern Italy, not by competition; and the peasants in general approxi-

mated more nearly to free and loyal cultivators than to serfs bound to the soil. Some distinction may possibly have been made between the genuine Sabine clients and the older country population; but on such topics we are left to conjecture. At any rate, we know no other times than these from which the later Romans can have drawn their ideal of the sacred and beautiful union of patron and client—an ideal which, however heightened in the retrospect by fond regrets, is not likely to have been wholly founded on fiction. At the same time, whenever conquered land was granted to a patron and his clients, we can not doubt that the clients held directly of the state, and could not be ejected at the will of the patron.

The Sabino-Roman state was thus fundamentally aristocratic, although its military tendencies placed at its head a king with ill-defined power. The story, or legend, represents the first king who was elected in Rome, to have devoted his whole reign to the task of blending Sabines and Romans into one nation, by introducing Sabine ordinances into every part of political and indeed of social life. With a view to this, the Romans were admitted into the Sabine curies, with the usual religious rites, and hereby became "Quirites"—warriors dedicated to Quirinus, or to the goddess whom a later age called Juno Quiritus. Every cury had its own hall (which was properly called *curia*) in which it assem-

bled, and tables were there spread with offerings to this goddess. There was no historian to record what to us would be so interesting — how the difficulty of conflicting language was settled; in what tongue the deliberations of the senate went on; and by what means the ascendency of the Sabines was upheld, until the foreign institutions had become rooted in their new soil. The course, however, of the Sabine language at Rome seems to have been, on a smaller scale, like that of the Normans in England. Its flood was not broad and deep enough to retain its own tinge when diluted by the Latin. In each succeeding century the predominance of the Latin race became more decided in Rome; and the descendants of the Sabines — even when of pure blood, as may sometimes have happened — lost their mother-tongue, just as our Norman barons talked the vulgar Saxon. Yet, on all the public institutions of Rome, marks of the Sabine vocabulary were left, which, by Roman pre-eminence, became ultimately fixed on the speech of Latium and of Italy.

Besides the division of the patrician body into thirty curies, the whole country was divided into tribes of uncertain number, the purpose of which seems to have been principally military. The word *tribe* was far spread in Western Europe. It is found among the Umbrians, where the *tribus Sappinia* (Liv. xxxi. 2) was a district of the country. The distant Gaels say *treubh* for a clan or family; the

old Welsh laws used *tref* for a township, or village, with its surrounding district. Under these circumstances, it may seem doubtful whether we ought to look to the Latin for its origin. If, indeed, we judge by Latin alone, the word means *a division*, whether of the people or of the land;* which is the explanation given by Müller and Mommsen: possibly it was a word already common to Sabines and Latins; and, at any rate, its meaning was not dissimilar to that of the English *parish*.

The names of the early tribes which alone have come down to us, are as follows: 1. Æmilia; 2. Camelia; 3. Cornelia; 4. Fabia; 5. Galeria; 6. Horatia; 7. Lemonia; 8. Menenia; 9. Papiria; 10. Pollia; 11. Popilia; 12. Pupinia; 13. Romilia; 14. Sergia; 15. Veturia: 16. Voltinia. Though it is possible that these are as early as the reign of the elder Tarquin, it is hardly imaginable that the Sabines established them all at the first moment of their power in Rome. Some of them may have been

* The Hebrew word for a tribe, as the Irish *pobal* (people), from meaning a collection of families, passed over into the sense of a district. So the Greek δῆμος, which perhaps, etymologically, meant *a band* (=δεσμος) from δέω. So *town* has been traced to *tie*. If it were certain that *tribus* were νομὸς, derived from *tribuo* = νέμω, we might account *division* to be the primitive sense of *tribus*. But then *tributum* ought to mean anything divided or awarded; whereas it means the soldiers' money paid by the *tribe*. This suggests that *tribus* is the root, from which *tribuo* also comes, and that the proper meaning of the verb is "to furnish pay to soldiers;" cf. the use of χορηγεῖν. *Contribuo* and *distribuo* often bear the sense of *tribus*.

added by Tullus Hostilius and some by Ancus, as the territory of Rome expanded. A *Tarquinia tribus* was possibly introduced when Tarquin migrated into Rome with his clan, during Ancus's reign, as a *Claudia tribus* under similar circumstances three generations later. All the names of these tribes, except Lemonia, are visibly connected with those of patrician clans; and, from the beginning, they must have included patricians with their clients. These Sabino-Roman tribes superseded, in fact, the three old Tuscan tribes of Tities, Ramnes, and Luceres; the names of which were, nevertheless, retained for good luck, and given peculiarly to the king's cavalry.

Concerning the organization of the infantry in these times, we know nothing positive; but as it may be assumed that each patrician went at the head of his own clients and younger relations, the army was virtually divided into *gentes* or clans. This is essentially feudal; and if the view is correct, it must have immensely aided to sustain the nobility against the high power of the king. The *tributum*, or war-tax,* seems not to have existed before Servius Tullius. Nevertheless, the king had the absolute prerogative of awarding the spoil, as we see by the later power of the consuls; and when it was abundant and honorably divided, he secured

* So soon as it existed, the plebeian townsmen would certainly be made to pay: yet all agree that the city tribes date from Servius.

popularity thereby. Moreover, the successive conquests of Rome gradually gave the king a great preponderance of clients, and enabled him to reorganize the army at his pleasure. Even in the earliest days he had his permanent body-guard, and the tenants of the crown-lands must of course have been clients of the crown. Of crown-estates, indeed, we know nothing from the historians; but it is manifest of itself and from the known phenomena in the early stage of every agricultural and settled nation, that the king's ordinary expenses must have been defrayed by rent from crown-estates; though we need not exclude the idea of yearly gifts, settled by custom, from all the landed property. While this simple arrangement lasted, there appears little want of finance officers of the crown; nor have we any proof that they arose until the later stage of the monarchy.

No land could be recognised as properly Quirite, and entitled to the full rights of Roman law, unless it was ready to furnish and support soldiers for the king; and therefore was registered under one of the tribes. At least, this appears as an immoveable principle in later Rome. In consequence, none but a Quirite could buy Quiritarian land. Whether a client could have been allowed to purchase a patron's rights, we have no means of determining; and perhaps the question would have been as idle as to ask whether a Russian serf may buy the estate

of a nobleman. No poor man was able to get rich by industry. The booty of war was his best chance; but the share of this which fell to the lot of common men was small, and the habits of a successful soldier are never parsimonious. It is not clear how early the name Quirite was applicable to a plebeian. Originally, it may seem certain, that admission to the curies, with dedication to Quirinus and Juno Quiritis, was essential: but from the reign of Servius all the soldiers of the national army were Quirites and *cives* (warrior-comrades), after which there can not have been any *legal* bar to their holding land in Quiritarian ownership.

Concerning the administration of justice, thus much may be gathered. The king, as afterward the consul or prætor, ordinarily judged in person concerning civil suits. Criminal cases of a grave nature it was either his duty or his privilege to transfer to the decision of "two men" appointed by himself. Thus when Horatius has slain his sister, King Tullus is represented to say: "I constitute a bench of two men, *according to the law*." Nor even so did the Quirites trust their lives to the king's judges; but if condemned, they were allowed to appeal to the tribunal of the national assembly, which in theory possessed the sovereign right of acquittal or of mercy, but practically would *afford a jury* to the party endangered. Some have questioned whether any but patricians possessed the right of appeal: but

if the life of a client had been threatened, it would appear to have been the duty and right of his patron to appeal in his name. However, while the purely judiciary rights of the king were thus limited, he possessed — besides absolute authority over life and death while commanding the army — a power of arbitrarily punishing, not his officials only, but all citizens, for any *neglect of duty and service*. This made it a terrible thing to incur his displeasure: to murder a sister may have been less perilous than to contest his authority.

Finally, the king of Rome, as those of Etruria and of early Greece, was also the supreme religious officer; and this is indeed the only character which legend ascribed to Numa Pompilius. But whatever Numa may have instituted in Rome, it can not for a moment be admitted that he originated principles of religion strange to the Sabines. His task was, not to create, but to enact, their modes of worship and their politico-religious ceremonial. On religious questions he judged authoritatively, as the pontiffs in later times; but it was understood that their decisions were made by precedent — certainly not by their arbitrary will: and in every doubtful case which involved religion, a king was expected to ask advice of the professional *augurs*. In making war and peace, or ratifying treaties, precedents were sought from the *fetiales*, or sacred heralds. Thus, even in her most infantine state, Sabine Rome

showed the germs of those peculiarities which at length made her so great: high aristocratical feeling, and an intense power of submitting to discipline; profound veneration for authority, and a rigid observance of order and precedent; devotion to the national religion, yet subjection of all religious officers to the state; honor to agriculture above all trades, and to arms above all accomplishments. In such a stage of half-developed morality, not to be warlike, is not to be virtuous; and not to be devoted to established religion, is not to have any deep-seated moral principle at all. As long as Rome was subjected to antagonistic forces from within and from without, she went on prospering and improving; and wins our sympathy, in spite of her heartlessness toward foreigners. Nor during any part of her history was the improvement more rapid than in the kingly period. Until the fatal destruction of her elective monarchy, she shoots up with vigor so astonishing as to excite a momentary disbelief: and of this prosperity no better account can be given than that it was due to the rigid and self-devoting virtue of the Sabines, joined to the organizing genius of the Latins. The Sabine stamp is the deepest; but it was the kings of Latin blood or Latin party who gave comprehensiveness to the institutions, and expanded them to receive new and new citizens — a liberal policy, of which Rome never had cause to repent.

CHAPTER VI.

SABINO-ROMAN DYNASTY.

THREE names of kings in succession are given to us—Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius—as filling a century of early Rome, and bringing about a great development of its power. Where the sources of knowledge are and were so fragmentary, it must occur to us to doubt whether a continuous story has not been made out by the ingenuity of later narrators. Every king is represented to have greatly enlarged the city, which may excite a suspicion that the names of those only have been preserved who were remembered in some such connection. A century is not at all too much for the results brought about; yet three elective monarchs can not have reigned so long. But the modern writer is in these things bound to his ancient guides; for if he entirely breaks loose from them, he is lost among innumerable possibilities.

The great aim of Numa's administration and laws, according to Plutarch,* was to bring about a thor-

* Numa, 17.

ough union of Sabines and Romans; and his mode of effecting it evidently was, to initiate the Romans into Sabine religion.

Plutarch's words may deserve in part to be quoted: "By establishing for every class of persons (ἑκάστῳ γένει) suitable meetings and divine ceremonies, Numa then first removed from the city the being called and thought—one part Sabines, and the other Romans; and one part Tatius's citizens, and the other Romulus's; so that the distribution of the people became a harmony and a mingling of all with all." It is manifest that this object would have been totally thwarted had he put all the Romulians into one tribe (Ramnes) and all the Sabines into another (Tities), and assigned to the two a different and repulsive religion, as so many learned men now believe. As we know that the distinction of Sabine and Alban did rapidly vanish in Rome, we can not reject Plutarch's statement as a dream; and we may safely rest in the belief that both nations were mixed indifferently in the same curies and in the same tribes.

With the same object he distributed the artisans into guilds, without respect to their race, and assigned to each its appropriate meetings and religion. The guilds enumerated by Plutarch are, the musicians, the goldsmiths, the carpenters, the dyers, the shoemakers, the tanners, the smiths, the potters; and one more, which included all that have not

been named. We may reasonably conjecture that this organization had arisen of itself among the Alban population, and that it embraced the resident Tuscan artificers; but Numa gave to it the color of Sabine religion, and used it to cement the middle classes of Rome to the Sabine institutions.

By the contrast which the eminently *ecclesiastical* stamp of the new dynasty bore to the times which preceded, a darker shade was cast on them; and the people of Romulus were depicted as a lawless and almost godless populace, because they had not the Sabine ceremonies nor the stiffness of Sabine aristocracy. So, too, the Latin form of marriage was looked on by the Sabines as no marriage at all, and the people who practised it were despised as degraded and almost impure.

It may indeed at first cause surprise that so poor and thinly-peopled a city as the Rome of Numa could maintain so large a body of sacred persons as the ancients tell us. Of the eight kinds of priests recounted by Dionysius, two indeed are common officers — the *curions* and the *tribunes* of the *celeres* or body-guard. Every cury had an officer called a *curion*, who must have been needed to perform many miscellaneous functions, as a sort of mayor, recorder, and steward, to it: his religious character was only incidental; as is still more obviously the case with the three captains of the guard. When the three ancient Romulian tribes had long remained

only for peculiar patrician purposes and for the auspices, Dionysius not unnaturally reckoned the tribunes of the celeres among priests, since all their other functions had vanished, except that they officiated on certain occasions. But besides these, six sorts of priests are ascribed to Numa — the *flamens*, the *augurs*, the *vestals*, the *salians*, the *fetiales* or heralds-at-arms, and the *pontiffs*.

The flamens belonged to certain gods, especially to Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus; the pontiffs, on the contrary, had general duties, and a superintendence over the whole. They were to the flamens as a college of cardinals to the deans of particular cathedrals. The augurs were already a separate class under Numa, perhaps nearly as the diviners (μάντεις) in Greece, and were consulted even by individuals; but it may be doubted whether they were, properly speaking, public officers (*publici augures regis vel populi Romani*) until the elder Tarquin, when their importance to the *comitia* and to the armies was greatly enhanced. From the later position of state-augurs and pontiffs, it is manifest that the acceptance of such a post did not withdraw men from civil life, and therefore it is not necessary to suppose that the original revenues sufficed to maintain the persons who held the offices. The three high flamens, indeed, appear to have been almost exclusively ecclesiastical, as well as the four (afterward six) vestal virgins; and these were main-

tained in much dignity. Respecting the salians, it is difficult to ascertain whether their functions interfered with ordinary employments; but we may conjecture that they did not. Numa's college of salians — called the Palatine, because their treasury was on the Palatine hill — consisted of twelve men of the best families, who, during the first days of March, danced in armor and sang with music to the honor of Mars Gradivius; or, as Varro says, of Mamurius Veturius.* They are compared by Dionysius to those whom the Greeks named *curetes*, in regard to the style of their warlike dancing; that the Romans were reminded of it by the dances of the Gauls and Spaniards, is manifest by their applying the word *tripudia* to the latter. At other times of the year, we know of no duties which the salians had to perform.

Nearly the same may be said of the *fetials*. Even before Ancus, they constituted a college, which hereditarily transmitted by memory certain rules and forms, to be practised in declaring war, in making treaties, in receiving embassadors, or in demanding redress. It was but very rarely that any actual service was expected of a fetial; and this service may have been requited by the honor of the post, so that a very narrow income sufficed to

* Plutarch (Numa 13) records an opinion, that the salians did not sing to "Veturium Mamurium," but to "Veterem Memoriam;" *i. e.* to *Auld Lang Syne!*

discharge the expenses of the college. Thus, on a closer examination, it may seem probable that the vestals and the flamens, whom we may compare to nuns and clergy, were the only persons in early Rome bearing an exclusively sacred office. Six maiden ladies may live even in superior style without large expense; and although the flamens were in all fifteen, three only of these were signal in rank and wealthy provision. Thus the establishments of Numa, however complicated, may not have involved any great pecuniary burden.

Nevertheless, they were far from acceptable to the old Romans, who had been adopted into the Sabine religion by Numa, as forcibly perhaps as the Saxons into Christianity by Charlemagne. The next king, whom the records name Tullus Hostilius, is represented as of Romulian blood, and decidedly adverse to Sabine ceremonies. His name survives in the *Curia Hostilia*, or oldest senate-house, of which he was the reputed builder. Its walls stood until they were destroyed by fire in the tumultuous obsequies paid to the body of Publius Clodius in the last years of the republic (B. C. 53, 52). That the two immediate successors of Numa were alternately of Latin and of Sabine descent, has been thought by many to prove that the law commanded this alternation. We may well believe that it was agreed to for the sake of harmony, as at English elections parties make such compromises; but the

law could not *command* it, without excluding men of mixed blood from the royal power—an enactment quite unimaginable from a legislator whose aim was to blend the two nations into one. The supposition, moreover, invents a gratuitous difficulty in regard to the election of Tarquin. It was not yet wholly unimportant to Rome, from which race the king was chosen. The Sabine religion had not yet become natural and native to the older patrician race; and our story attributes to Tullus a systematic neglect of Numa's ordinances, until the people were affected by a general epidemic, under which Tullus himself suffered. He then undertook to sacrifice to Jupiter Elicius on the Aventine, according to Numa's directions; but, having blundered in the process, was killed by lightning in his own house. Such was the crisis which fixed Sabine ceremonies finally on Rome. To ascertain how much is true in this narrative, is impossible; but that the occurrence of pestilence should have firmly established the new religion, if some neglect of it had preceded, is in itself highly probable.

But the great event of Tullus's reign is the destruction of Alba Longa, the head of so many small Latin towns. The narrative given of this by Livy is infected with evident fiction. The Roman and Alban armies, says he, were assembled for a campaign, and Tullus invited the Albans to hear him harangue them. They came without their arms;

and, while they were listening, the soldiers of Tullus surrounded them, seized the Alban dictator and cruelly tore him apart on a charge of treachery, marched off the whole Alban population to Rome, and destroyed the town of Alba without resistance. After trickery so astounding, so ruthless, and so successful, Tullus admits the Alban people without discrimination into the Roman franchise, and gives them the Cælian hill at Rome to inhabit; moreover, to encourage them, he builds a house there and lives in it himself. The chief families of Alba are received into the Roman patriciate, and new legions are made up from the commonalty. With armies thus reinforced, Tullus feels himself strong enough to attack the Sabines beyond the Anio.*

To discern the falsity of this account is far easier than to divine the truth which it obscures and supersedes. For us, two facts only are certain: first, that Alba was destroyed; next, that numerous Albans become citizens and even senators at Rome, and were a highly trustworthy part of the Roman community. Livy recounts the Tullii, the Servilii, the Quinctii, the Geganii, the Curiatii, and the Clœlii, as thus introduced. It seems necessary to infer, *either*, that these were the partisans of Rome against their native country; *or*, that the war between Rome and Alba is wholly a fiction, as

* According to Livy, the Sabines were entirely conquered (*devicti*), i. 31; yet, under Tarquin the First, they appear as powerful as ever.

Niebuhr regards it, who believes that the ancient Latins, and not the Romans, were the enemy that destroyed Alba and possessed her territory. Without deciding what power destroyed Alba, it is admissible as a theory that her ruin arose as much from within as from without. If internal seditions had broken up society; if that which was twice a serious threat and incipient action of the Roman plebs—to secede to another country and leave the patricians to the mercy of Veians or Volscians—became a real act with a powerful Alban minority; the rest of the story would become credible. Rome would joyfully receive the Alban secession, and perhaps even undertake to avenge their cause against their native town; after which, there is nothing to hinder our believing the substance of Livy's account. At any rate, Alba vanished from among the states of Latium, and Rome claimed to succeed into all her rights.

Henceforth the Alban mount was a sacred place with the Romans; for the temples of the gods were of course left standing, and the sacrifices were duly performed by the refugees established at Rome. In after-times it became a yearly duty of the consuls to sacrifice there; and, on some extraordinary occasions, a successful general, who is hindered from triumphing at Rome, celebrates his triumph on the Alban mount.

Tullus was succeeded by Ancus Marcius, a Sa-

bine, whom the historians call the son of Numa's daughter. His reign was at least as warlike as that of Tullus, and was principally occupied against the ancient Latins, from whom he conquered many towns and territories. The Roman story ascribes to him the first application of legal solemnities to declaring war: but this seems to be invented, in order to make out for his reign a more Sabine and religious character than that of Tullus; for, in fact, Livy himself (i. 24) relates the religious formalities with which the *pater patrater* of the Romans sanctioned Tullus's compact with the Latins; and Plutarch represents Numa to have established the fetiales.

All that we can probably adopt is, that as Rome grew greater, she more anxiously sought to shake off the appearance of being a mere robber-city, and to assume the loftier tone of right in commencing her wars. Politorium, Ficana, Telleni, and Medullia, are enumerated as Ancus's Latin conquests. But, besides this, he coveted the seacoast of Latium and maritime facilities; a mark of which is his building Ostia on the mouth of the Tiber. Moreover, he encroached on the territory of Veii, an Etruscan city beyond the Tiber; took from it the district called the Mæsian forest, and probably also the Janiculan hill, which he fortified and joined to the city by a wooden bridge over the Tiber. It was thenceforth called the "*Sublician*" bridge (or bridge

built on wooden piles), and was apparently made sacred: for the priests received the duty of repairing it. This curious fact guaranties to us that the name *pontiff* (*pontifex*, "bridge-maker") does not date from the earliest times.

That Tullus and Ancus each of them added a large Latin population to the city and state of Rome, is beyond dispute. The former, as has been stated, planted Albans on the *Cœlian* hill (which was supposed to derive its name from Cæles Vibenna, the Etruscan captain), and the walls of Rome were made to enclose this hill. Under Ancus, the *Aventine* also became partially occupied by Latin settlers, after his conquest of Politorium; and this hill likewise was taken into the city. But at a much later period, when the tribune Icilius passed a celebrated law,* the Aventine was almost free from buildings: we must therefore beware of exaggerating the amount of population at this time transferred† to Rome.

In one point the policy of Ancus differed from that of Tullus — and this deserves fuller explanation than we can confidently give: he did not introduce into the senate (and possibly not into the patrician clans) the nobility of the conquered Latins. The following theory will at least give a specious interpretation of acknowledged facts.

* Liv. iii., 31, 32; Dionys. x., 31, 32.

† Ihne ingeniously suggests that some Greek historian misunderstood the Roman phrase *in civitatem recepti*, for *in urbem deducti*.

On the one hand, it is more than possible (as hinted) that the Alban nobles, whom Tullus introduced into full patriciate, were actual partisans of Rome, and not conquered enemies: and this alone would entirely account for the different conduct of Ancus. But this does not suffice to explain the votes of the curiate assembly when Tarquin becomes a candidate for the throne. We may admit that the ennobled Albans would adopt everything on which the grandeur of Sabine patricians depended, and therefore try to induce the lower ranks of the Albans (with whatever success) to enter into Sabine clientship with them — an institution strange to the Latins. But many would refuse, and these of course swelled the numbers of the free *plebs;* the result of which was soon visible in the aggrandizement of the royal power. When Tullus and Ancus went to war, they led out, not only the patricians with their retainers, but likewise the bands of militia attached to the royal estates; and it is not to be imagined that they would refrain from levying troops largely also from the new masses of Latin plebeians, unattached* to patrician clans. The king's own army therefore began sensibly to grow formidable, in comparison to what we may call "his barons' army;" and all the unattached *plebs* were virtually in cli-

* Niebuhr has the merit of having first brought this whole topic out into its due prominence; and although he is far too dogmatic, and often reasons very ill, he has hereby aided exceedingly to a sounder discernment of the state of early Rome.

entship to the king. When Ancus introduced so large a mass of new subjects, and added none of them to the patriciate, discontent arose among the existing patricians — who saw their order to be sinking in comparison with the crown — and also in the wealthier and noble Latins, who had no career allowed them in their new country. If so, it is not wonderful that a man soon appeared who knew how to take advantage of the public dissatisfaction.

But it is undoubted that, under Ancus, the state had grown steadily as well as rapidly. It had become powerful by sea as well as by land, and was already almost without an equal in Etruria as well as in Latium. Such are the results of fixed law and stern discipline, combined with that highly energetic form of government, elective monarchy.

PART III.

ETRUSCO-LATIN ROME.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ETRUSCANS.

Ancus Marcius was succeeded on the throne of Rome by an Etruscan, named Tarquin. Before we enter into any of the details concerning the new king, it is desirable to form a sharper notion of the Etruscans, and of their land.

Etruria was bounded by the Tiber on the south, by the Macra (*Magra*) on the north, and by the Apennines in the interior; being larger than the modern Tuscany. "The soil," says Diodorus,* "will bear everything; and being well cultivated, yields abundance of fruits, not only for sufficiency, but for luxurious enjoyment; so that servants and freemen

* Diodor. v., 40.

alike have their own separate houses. From the universal fertility of the country, they can always keep large stores in reserve; for, in short, Tyrrhenia sits everywhere on open plains, divided by gently-sloping hills serviceable to agriculture, and is moderately humid, as well in summer as in winter." In modern times, Tuscany has been called the garden of Italy; but this description must perhaps be confined to the vale of the Arno. In natural fertility, Campania and Lombardy must fully equal it; but in those ancient times no part of Italy was so turned to service by skilful agriculture* as Etruria.

The Etruscans, who conquered their country from the Umbrians, called themselves *Rhaséna*,† but foreign nations knew them by a name which under all its varieties, points to *Tursh* or *Turch* as the radical element. The Umbrians (judging by the Eugubine‡ tables) called them *Tursci;* a word which the Romans vulgarly softened into *Tusci*, or more politely transposed into *Etrusci.* Their country must have been called *Etrusia* by the old Latins, which, by a well-recognised tendency, became in the standard Latin *Etruria.* The mother-city of Etruria—that from which they were believed to have spread over the land—though now a mere ruin, still retains the name *Turchina*,‖ which the Romans made into

* Virg. Georg., ii. Sic fortis Etruria crevit.

† Dionys. i., 30. ‡ Göttling, § 21. ‖ Dennis's Etruria, i., 380.

Tarquinii,* and called its legendary founder *Tarchon*. On the other hand, Attic Greeks gave to the people the name Τυρρηνοι (*Tyrrheni*), almost identical with *Turchini* in sound; while, as usual, the other Greeks preferred to enunciate it as Τυρσηνοι (*Tyrseni*), which nearly preserves the primitive word *Tursh*.

It is not to be questioned that *Tursh* or *Turch* is the true name of the nation, when we find Umbrians, Romans, Greeks, and Lydians, to have agreed in so denoting them. That they called themselves *Rhaséna*, is not more wonderful than that the Romans called themselves *Quirites*. Such an isolated fact† is insufficient as a basis for any conclusions whatever.

The Etruscans, in all civilizing art, were exceedingly in advance of the other nations of Italy. They belong, indeed, to the era of Phœnicia and of Egypt, rather than of Greece, although in their later period they borrowed largely from the plastic skill of Corinth. Their tombs and their magnificent walls still testify to their luxury and industrial power. Their

* The vowel *a* in Tarquinii and Tarchon is also found in various Etruscan inscriptions. Lanzi and Dennis give the forms Tarchnal, Tarchnas, Tarchi, Tarchisa, etc. Dennis (ii., 44) believes that the tomb of the Tarquins at Agylla or Cære has been laid open.

† For anything that we know, *Rhaséna* may mean "nobles." If we were at liberty to assume that the Etruscans, like the Solymi of Lycia, spoke a language of "Shemitic" relationship, we might conjecture that *Rhas* meant "head," and that *-éna* was a mark of plurality, as in Arabic *-în*, *-ûn*.

fleets commanded the seas, and their heavy-armed infantry were unmatched on the land, before Rome existed as a city. Their nobles were priests as often in Asia Minor; the ecclesiastical system was ancient and very peculiar, and the use of letters familiar to them in very early times. Their alphabet was a modification of the Phœnician,* and, what deserves remark, like all the people of western Asia, they wrote from right to left. Like the Egyptians, they loved to cover the inner walls of their tombs with painting, and besides to stock them with valuable pottery and furniture, to such an extent, that the moderns, though knowing but a few words of their language, have recovered a surprising acquaintance with their daily life. "The internal history of Etruria," says Mr. Dennis,† "is written on the mighty walls of her cities and on other architectural monuments; on her roads, her sewers, her tunnels, but above all in her sepulchres. It is to be read on graven rocks, and on the painted walls of tombs. But its chief chronicles are inscribed on sarcophagi and cinerary urns, on vases and goblets, on mirrors and other articles in bronze, and a thousand *et cetera*

* Lanzi and Müller believe the Etruscan letters to come from Greek: Giamb. Bruni contends that they came direct from the Phœnician alphabet. Walpole thinks their form strikingly like the characters on the "tomb of Midas" in Asia Minor. Mr. Daniel Sharpe, a high authority in such a subject, decidedly holds that the Etruscans got their letters from Asia and *not* from Greece.

† Etruria, vol. i., p. 23.

of personal adornment, and of domestic and warlike furniture — all found within the tombs of a people long passed away." We can have no doubt, therefore, of their high cultivation; and this gives zest to the question whether it was developed independently on Italian soil, or imported from Asia.

Their alphabet, written from right to left, immediately suggests a direct transmission from the East: and the same conclusion follows the instant it is admitted that a place so near to the sea as Tarquinii is their mother-city. That it was so, all antiquity believed; and the very name is a strong attestation, for we have seen that *Tarquinii* is merely another pronunciation of *Turchina*. Again, if the Etruscans had been a continental people who came from the north into Italy, they could scarcely have been confined to so very narrow an area; nor could they, while leaving infinite memorials of themselves within that small compass, leave none at all anywhere else. This consideration seems in itself decisive, if we are left to internal arguments.

Why, then, have so many able men in modern days refused to believe that the Etruscans came to Italy by sea? They have been incredulous that so numerous a population can have been transported in the small ships of the ancients. Yet why are they to be thought more numerous than the Greeks of Sicily, who undoubtedly came thither by long sea-voyage? or even than the Greek colonists of Asia

Minor and the neighboring islands? It is not to be imagined that all the inhabitants of Etruria in the days of Tullus Hostilius were of pure Etruscan blood, or that all the Asiatic Etruscans arrived by a single trip. The Greek colonization of Sicily suffices to explain that of Etruria. We may conceive of a first fleet of Turchines or Etruscans, who founded the town of Tarquinii, and called it after their own name. Their success, reported to their home, would naturally in due time bring a second and a third colony till the coast was studded with cities; but only the oldest city would take the name of the people. With the increase of their numbers and strength, they would gradually colonize into the interior, and, by fortifying their towns, secure themselves against the rude natives; who in process of time were entirely subdued, and incorporated into a single people with them, though probably under political inferiority.

Now, in fact, such a view is in fundamental agreement with the almost universal belief of the ancients. From Herodotus downward, they reported Lydia to be the mother-country of the Etruscans; and though it is naturally impossible to prove such a fact, nothing is in evidence that should justly make it suspicious.

Dionysius alone,* of extant authors, rejected it

* Mr. Dennis (vol. i., p. 32) has taken the pains to count up *twenty-two* ancient authors who ascribe the origin of the Etruscans to Lydia.

among the ancients: first, because Xanthus, a valued historian of the Lydians, did not relate the colonization; secondly, because the language, religion, laws, and manners of the Etruscans, did not resemble those of the Lydians. But the closer we consider this negative proof, the less does its weight seem to be. Is the mere omission of Xanthus to weigh against the positive testimony of Herodotus? The latter distinctly assures us that *the Lydians believed* the Etruscans to be their kinsmen, and to have swarmed from Lydia. Now (it has been well observed) the inventive fancy in nations looks back into the past, not onward into the future: they feign forefathers, but not children; so that this belief of the Lydians is a weighty circumstance. If the colonization of Etruria was a gradual process, having no definite chronology, it is not very wonderful that Xanthus omitted it. Again, the Etruscans landed on Umbrian soil, and, living in the midst of a more numerous Umbrian (or Umbro-Pelasgian) population, probably suffered a sensible change in their language. The Lydians likewise, in nine or ten centuries, had undergone great vicissitudes. After

As to Livy's belief (v., 35) that the Rhætians were Etruscans, his testimony about their language is very vague; yet if it be accepted, there is no reason to reject his declaration that the Rhætians were Tuscan fugitives who escaped to the mountains in the Gaulish invasion of Lombardy. Prichard, indeed (vol. iii., p. 91), follows Zeuss in the belief that the Rhætians were a Keltic people. Dennis (note to p. 45) is disposed to believe Steub has succeeded in showing many names of places in Rhætia to be Etruscan.

the Persian conquest their manners and character notoriously underwent a vast change; and by the admixture of Greeks, Mysians, Carians, Phrygians, Persians, their language also is certain to have been seriously affected. It is therefore not wonderful if in the age of Dionysius they were unintelligible to Etruscans—which is all that we can receive from this historian's statement.* After all, the customs of the Etruscans are conceded to be remarkably Lydian, or Asiatic, by those who deny the Asiatic migration. If the two objections raised by this author are set aside, we must surely abide by the old opinion that the Etruscans came from Lydia.

Although the inscription has not been interpreted, even in part (no small proof in itself that the Etruscans were not European), it may interest the reader to have before him the longest extant piece of Etruscan writing—that on the Perusian monument—which is therefore given at the end of this chapter.

The great predominance of consonants—which must in so many cases have been sounded by the aid of a very obscure vowel-sound, omitted in the writing—reminds us of Shemitic languages, by

* Dennis aptly refers to Strabo's remarkable words (xiii., *in fine*): "The Cibyrates use four languages—the Pisidian, the Solyman, the Greek, the Lydian; but *of the last there is not even a trace in Lydia.*" Dionysius was Strabo's contemporary, and but a few years older; it would therefore seem that he mistook the language then talked by the Lydians for the tongue of Crœsus.

means of which, indeed, many of the separate words could be explained. The contrast of this tongue to the two Pelasgian lines exhibited in the first section will be visible to the reader at a glance.

Niebuhr often inculcates that in Etruria the ruling race was separated from the mass of the people by a vast chasm, and that the latter were miserable and degraded serfs. His proofs appear to be extremely slight,* yet he has been followed by nearly all the moderns — apparently because of the intrinsic probability that this must have been the result of such a conquest. All that we seem to have a right to infer from the facts reported is, that nothing like democracy was developed in Etruria. The common people did not concern themselves in affairs of state; but this does not indicate that they were subjected to social oppression, or hindered from rising by ingenious industry. The Romans do not appear to have discerned two languages and two races in Etruria: we may therefore infer that conquerors and conquered were blended in one nation.

* In vol. i., p. 121 (transl. 1847), he rests the facts on Dionysius's words (ix., 5), "the most powerful men leading out *their own peasantry* to war" — *τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πενέστας*. He adds a sentence (intended, it seems, as confirmation), that without a multitude of clients whom they could employ in *taskwork*, their colossal works could hardly have been achieved. Yet it surely is an axiom that no work is dearer than the forced toil of unintelligent men. The canal of Mehemet Ali, dug by workmen whom he only fed and did not pay, proved fully as expensive to him as free labor would have been, while it costs thousands of deaths to the miserable laborers.

It is well known that the Romans extended and secured their dominion by powerfully fortifying their frontier colonies; but as we have full proof how strong were the defences of the Etruscan Veii, while Rome was in infancy, it is unreasonable to attribute the massive walls of Etruria to Roman policy. Rather, in this very matter they must have copied the Etruscans. Indeed, the Greeks in Sicily, and the Norman barons in Scotland, appear to have established themselves by the very same method: the mason secured what the soldier had won. But in this method the Romans succeeded better than the Etruscans, because they systematically sacrificed freedom to centralization. Rome alone was to them the centre of political action. But the Etruscan colonists, having snapped the tie which bound them to their original home, were not inclined to submit to the yoke of Tarquinii or of any single city. Their leading warriors became barons (*lucumones*)* in every new fortified place, and formed a wide-spread aristocracy over all Etruria. As in the middle ages of Europe, foreign war united many petty chieftains under one leader, who for the time appeared to foreigners as their king; but in peace the natural independence of the several states returned. Their mutual relations remind us more of Greece than of Rome. Every colony, or every new fortified town,

* Göttling approves of Müller's conjecture that this word meant *primogeniti.*

seems to have become a new state; yet a brotherly union was kept up with the other cities. Public congresses were common; and Etruria, like Carthage, has a great superiority over the cities of Greek or Latin race, in avoiding civil wars.

The Etruscan warriors were armed like Homeric heroes, though the coat-of-mail was probably commoner with the Etruscans. It is not to be supposed that they owed anything of this sort to the Greeks: the Carians, Philistines, Egyptians, and Assyrians, long before had all this armor. Since we know that they fought in phalanx* like the Greeks, we can not wonder that they were superior to the rude Umbrians. Moreover, while advancing into the interior, the Etruscans never lost the seacoast and their connection with the western seas. Tarquinii is celebrated for its maritime commerce, and, as as we have seen, gave to the Greeks their name for all the Etruscans. By this channel the elegant arts of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Asia Minor, found their way into Italy, at a time when Greece proper was still rude; but as soon as she began to unfold her peculiar genius in sculpture, moulding, and painting, the Tarquinians imported her productions and imitated her skill. That the neighboring city of Volci emulated Tarquinii in art and in maritime activity seems to be attested by the wonderful remains of its *necropolis*.†

* Diodor. Excerpt. Maii, xxiii., 1.

† Volci (or Volcientes, Volcentani) is very rarely named in ancient

From the union of maritime enterprise, manufacturing industry, taste in art, and prowess in war, which the Etruscans displayed, we might expect, and we find, great advances in wealth and luxury.* The splendor of their public pageants was similar to that of mediæval Europe, and their favorite engravings testify how large a part of their aspirations was directed toward tasteful and superb entertainments. In their conception the inhabitants of heaven, like the Homeric gods, were permanently occupied at the banqueting-table of Jupiter. When their military spirit was afterward broken by reverses, they were reproached by Greeks and Romans as effeminate and sensual: but both of the accusers, by the operation of the same causes, have had in turn to bear the same reproach; where freedom is lost, all material cultivation suffers this degeneracy. But until the all-ruling power of Rome had grown up, Etruria, like Greece and Phœnicia, sent forth civilizing influences, in which energy was preserved in spite of prevalent voluptuousness. We must at the same time confess that a shameful custom, as-

writers, and has become eminent only from the discoveries of excavators. It lies about eighteen miles northwest of Tarquinii, on the river Arminia (or *Fiora*), and is about seven or eight miles from the sea. The river is now regarded as unnavigable.

* Diodor. v., 40. The high admiration which he expresses of the Etruscans, praising their "literature, physiology, and theology," as well as their arts of war and peace, might soften the terms in which Niebuhr speaks of the contempt in which the Etruscans were held by Greeks and Romans — vol. i., p. 109, *trn.*

cribed by Herodotus to the Lydian plebeians, is alluded to by Plautus* as common among the Etruscans, and gives us a low conception of their domestic purity: namely, that young girls without reproof earned their dowries by prostitution, with a view to marrying respectably. This coincidence, moreover, is a strong confirmation of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans; for, allowing that the arts of peace and war, costume and games, may have been brought from Asia by naval commerce, certainly such a custom as this could not have been so imported.

It is sufficiently clear that Etruscan elements in Italy were mingled with the other two foreign influences which we named—Hellenic and Pelasgian. In Falerium and Fescennium, contiguous inland towns of southern Etruria, Dionysius (i., 21) witnesses that there were not merely Argive spears and shields, heralds like the Greek κήρυκες, temples and sacred chapels, purifications and sacrifices, but many other things convincingly Hellenic, especially the sacred ministries in the temple of *Here* (Juno) at Falerium. The women who served in the consecrated ground, the basket-bearing maiden (κανηφόρος) who has to begin the rites (κατάρχεσθαι), and the dances of young girls singing to the goddess, were unmistakeably Hellenic. Clusium, called *Camers* before its conquest by the Etruscans, was said to

* Plaut. Cistell. II. 3, 20: Herod. I., 93; also Hor., Ode III., x., 12.

have been founded by Telemachus; and the names of *Pyrgi*, *Pisa*, and *Telamon*, as of the rivers *Lynceus* and *Macres*, at once testify to Greek colonies. Nor was this wonderful; for, earlier than all historical record, Tibur, Formiæ, Amyclæ, Tusculum, are ascribed to the same source of population: on the site of Rome itself once lay the little Greek town of Evander, and across the Tiber the fortress called Antipolis on the Janiculum.

Later Greek writers, like the Romans, used the name Pelasgian with great vagueness: hence it is often difficult to interpret their statements. Yet it is on the whole sufficiently clear that there was a strictly Pelasgian (besides the Hellenic) colonization into Etruria. Especially Agylla, afterward called *Cære*, was (as above remarked) a Pelasgian* foundation. Yet it is named a *colony* of Tarquinii; probably in the Roman sense, after it was forced to submit to Etruscan sovereignty. That this city kept up close relations with Greece, is manifested in part by the name of her seaport (Pyrgi), in which was a temple to Eilethyia, a Greek goddess. Agylla,

* When we read that it was founded by Pelasgians from *Thessaly* (Strabo, v., 2, p. 356, Tauchnitz), we have no ground for supposing there were documents which established this; hence it is only reasonable to infer, with Niebuhr, that the current notion that Thessaly was the *centre* whence the Pelasgians spread generated this phraseology. The same remark holds as to the migration of these Pelasgians from the northeast. It was taken for granted that they came by that course, *if* they came from Thessaly. So Justin (xx., 1) calls Tarquinii a *Thessalian* colony.

moreover, had a storeroom at Delphi, and consulted the Delphian oracle in a time of distress.* The great richness and beauty displayed in her tombs made her a worthy rival of Tarquinii and Volci. Near to Graviscæ, the port of Tarquinii, was shown a place called Regis Villa by the Romans, where "the Pelasgian king Malæotes" was believed to have dwelt.†

How strong was the Hellenic influence on southern Etruria is remarkably seen in the two words *haruspex* and *hariolus*,‡ which are manifestly corrupt Greek. The Etruscans had strong religious peculiarities of their own, and it was the special business of the class called *haruspices* to study and transmit orthodox ceremonialism. It is, then, a most signal circumstance to find these called by a Greek name. As certainly as the words *bishop* and *church*, existing among Anglo-Saxons, prove the influence over England of a religion developed in Greece, so do the words *haruspex* and *hariolus* in Etruria, if indeed these words were known except in the Pelasgian settlements. But it must not be overlooked that all the religious innovations in Rome which are ascribed to the first Tarquin, are

* Strabo, v., 2, pp. 365 and 356, Tauchnitz. This must not be used in proof that Agylla was Hellenic. King Crœsus also had a storeroom at Delphi, and consulted the god; yet he was a Lydian.

† Strabo, v., 2, p. 365.

‡ *Haruspex* evidently is for ἱροσκόπος, and *hariolus* is a Latinized diminutive of ἱερεύς.

precisely such as a potentate from Corinth or Elis might equally well have imported—namely, images of the gods, bloody sacrifices, inspection of the victims, the joint worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, with splendor in horse-racing and boxing-matches.

On the whole, it appears that, north of the Tiber, the Etruscan influence swallowed up into itself both the Pelasgian and the Hellenic, so as to produce a homogeneous result. Hellenic religion and art sensibly modified those of southern Etruria, but only as afterward those of Rome. The animating spirit of institutions and of life lay in the Etruscan element of society, and worked very vigorously through the whole district which the moderns name Tuscany. In fact, we must ascribe it to the early superiority of the Etruscans, that stray chieftains from among them, such as Cæles Vibenna, are reported to have exerted power in the Rome of Romulus, and that Rome itself was founded with Etruscan rites. Just so, a Lydian Pelops in early Greece, a Hellenic chieftain among Siculians, a Norman among Gaelic or Saxon Scotch, readily assumed command.

The ancients believed that the Etruscan dominion at one time embraced both Lombardy and Campania, and that in each of the three great districts there were *twelve* Etruscan cities: but in none of the three can the number twelve be made out. In Etruria there are more than twelve, in Lombardy

and Campania fewer. In Lombardy, nothing is known beyond the names of certain towns, Felsima, Melpum in the Milanese, Adria, Mantua, Ravenna, and perhaps Verona. These may be conjectured to be rather *factories* and garrisons than native cities, and by no means imply any government exercised over the entire country. Polybius (ii., 17) evidently supposed that this threefold empire was a great simultaneous whole. But it was never centralized, and the Lombard towns were overpowered by the Gauls before any Etruscan influence that we can trace began in Campania. The Gauls did not cross the Alps till the reign of Tarquin the elder, and gradually became masters of Lombardy; they seem to have driven out a great mass of Umbrian population with the Etruscans. It was probably as a result of this that, in the year 524 B. C. (if we accept the reckoning of Dionysius), an immense host of Etruscans, Umbrians, and Daunians, invaded Campania, and made a formidable attack on the Greek town of Cuma; whence, however, they were repulsed with vast slaughter by Aristodemus. This, as far as we know, was the first entrance of Etruscans into Campania.

The Etruscan language, like the modern Greek, did not contain the sounds *b* and *d*. It is generally asserted, also, to have been without the sound *g*: but it employs both *c* and *k*, and *k* is often denoted

by Roman *g*, when Etruscan words are put into Roman letters. It may, therefore, be suspected that the Etruscans had the two sounds, though their orthography may have been imperfect; especially when it is remembered that the old Romans wrote C for G in many words. The letter O was certainly wanting, but they distinguished U from V, which the Romans did not.

The alphabet, collectively, may be written:—

a c e f h θ i k l m n p r s t u v χ x z.

In turning Etruscan into Roman letters, we are used (improperly, according to Müller) to write *f* for *v*, and *ph* for *f*: thus, we make that *Menerfa* which was with the Etruscans *Menerva*, as with the Romans. But whether the *v* (Vau, Digamma) had the sound of English v, or, as in old Latin, that of our *w*, remains doubtful. Also, although Müller does not doubt that the sounds of English *s* and *z* represent the two forms of S in Etruscan, he is uncertain which form had the sharp, and which the blunt sound—a similar question to that concerning *c* and *k*.

Müller supposes that *x* is as in Latin, or as Greek ξ; χ is the guttural *ch* of the Germans. But Dennis treats this *x* as Greek ζ.

The mode of writing the vowels in Etruscan deserves attention. It is known that the old Hebrew and old Arabic used only three principal vowel-

marks, long and short, and that the character from which the Greek O descended is a consonant in those tongues, viz., the Hebrew ע ('Ain). The absence of the letter O in Etruscan is generally regarded to prove that the language had not the *sound:* but we might as well infer that Hebrew and Arabic had not the sound, because they have no letter of the alphabet to represent it. Now, Müller gives numerous instances of words written both in Etruscan and also in ancient Roman letters, in which the Etruscan *u* is turned into Roman *o*. Thus, *hurse* is *horse;* thus *fukukum* [vukukum?] is *vocucom; pupluper* is *popluper; Krapufi* [Krapuvi?] is *Grabovei.* The natural inference is that the Etruscan had the two sounds *o* and *u*, but, having adopted the alphabet of a Syro-Arabian people, had no character for *o*. Moreover, the letter *o* itself is in Etruscan used as equivalent to Θ, and therefore could not be adopted in its Greek sense.

The tendency of this is to strengthen the argument of those who derive the Etruscan alphabet direct from Asia.

It may also appear that they did not always learn their Greek names from mouths that spoke the purest Greek. Else why should they make Περσευς, Πολυνεικης, Θετις, Τηλεφος, into *Perse, Fulnike,* Θεθις, Θ *elafe*, when the Etruscan had *p* and *t*?

The inscription on the Perusinian monument is given by Müller (p. 61), as edited by Vermiglioli.

The writing is said to be very clear. The division of words, says Müller, seems to be arbitrary, except where a point is placed. In the copy here given, v, f, are written for the Etruscan letters which Vermiglioli denotes by f, ph. Also χ θ z are written, as better than the arbitrary th, ch, f. (For the x, however, Dennis would write z.)

BROAD SIDE OF THE PILLAR, TWENTY-FOUR LINES.

eulat. tanna. larexul | amevaχx lautn. velθinas e |
st la afunas zlel eθ caru | texan fusleri tezns teis |
rasnes ipa ama hen napr | XII velθina θuras aras pe |
ras cemulmlezcul xuci en | ezci epl tularu |
aulesi. velθinas arxnal cl | ensi. θii. θils cuna. cenu. e |
plc. felic. larθals afunes | clen θunculθe |
falas. χiem fusle. velθina | hinθa cape municlet mazu |
naper. scrancxl θii flasti v | elθina. hut. naper. penexs |
mazu. acnina. clel. afuna. vel | θinam lerxinia. intimame
r cnl. velθina xias atene | tezne. eca. velθina. θuras. θ |
aura helu tezne rasne cei | tezns teis rasnes χimθs p |
el θutas cuna afunam ena | hen naper cicul harcutuse.

NARROW SIDE, TWENTY-TWO LINES.

velθinas | atena xuc | i. enezci. ip | a. spelane |
θi. fulumχ | fa spelθi | reneθi est | ac velθina |
ac ilune | tunuresc | unexea xuc | i enezci. aθ |
umics afu | nas. penθn | a. ama velθ | ina. afun |
θuruni. ein | xeriunac χ | a. θil θunχ | ulθl. iχ. ca |
ceχaxi χuχ | e.

Dennis gives the following list, as the total of our Etruscan knowledge: vol. i., p. 45:—

Aesar, deus
Agalletor, puer
Andas, Boreas
Anhelos, aurora
Antar, aquila
Aracos, accipiter (ἱεραξ)
Arimos, simia
Arse verse, averte ignem
Ataison, vitis
Burros, poculum
Balteus, Capra, Cassis, Celer . . as in Latin.
Capys, falco
Damnus, equus
Drouna, principium
Falando, cœlum (Valando?)
Gapos, currus
Hister, ludio
Iduare, dividere
Idulus, ovis
Itus, idus
Læna χλαινα?
Lanista, carnifex
Lar(θ), dominus
Lucumo, princeps
Mantisa, additamentum
Nanos, vagabundus
Nepos, luxuriosus?
Rasena, Etrusci
Subulo. tibicen
Ril avil, vixit annos
Clan, filius?
Sec, filia?

The letters *g*, *d*, and *o*, are not here excluded from Etruscan. But it seems clear that the terminations of these Etruscan words have been Latinized, and probably, therefore, the spelling. Even this does not account for the B in Burros, Balteus, Subulo; and Balteus, as Sabine and Gaelic, is not likely to have been native in the Etruscan.

CHAPTER VIII.

TARQUIN THE ELDER.

In passing from the reign of the Sabine Ancus to that of the Etruscan Tarquin, the moderns have imagined that there is a chasm to overleap, which the rhetorical historians of antiquity ill conceal. They have thought that the disparity in the power and wealth of Rome is too great to have been produced from within: hence the suspicion that Tarquin the First was strictly a *conqueror* of Rome; and it must be admitted that the vanity of the later Romans would certainly have obscured the conquest, if, like Alexander to the Persians, the invader proved a sagacious prince, who tried to develop, not to destroy, their nationality.

On the other hand, there is nothing in the facts which remain to us, that *forces* us to adopt this theory. As to the imagined chasm, it in part depends upon an exaggerated view of Turquin's greatness as compared with Ancus, in part on modern fictions concerning the constitution. It appears safer, therefore, to tell the tale of the Tarquins with

the least possible deviation from the outline which the Romans believed.

The account given by Livy and Dionysius of the origin of the elder Tarquin is simple, natural, every way credible; and, if we reject it, we can put nothing into its place. He derived his birth from Corinthian parents, who had settled at Tarquinii in Etruria: a later age confidently, but it seems erroneously, named his father Demaratus.* The belief of his Corinthian origin testifies, at any rate, to the persuasion that the influences introduced into Rome by Tarquin were half Greek in character. He married an Etruscan lady of rank, named Tanaquil; but, finding his Corinthian blood to hinder his rise, he migrated to Rome, where he heard that no impediments on this score would annoy him.

In a later stage of national growth, to be a foreigner is a fatal obstacle to advancement. So is it in England and in all the old countries of Europe; but not so in Russia, nor in America, nor was it so in the middle ages. Early Athens and early Rome were careless about the *race* of a brave man; though each city, in its later period, became fastidious. With perfect discernment of this, Livy and Dionysius attribute to Tarquin the sentiment that "a new city" like Rome will look only to personal merit.

* Since the Romans did not know the native name of Tarquin himself, it is unlikely that they knew that of his father. Demaratus was a well-known Corinthian emigrant to Etruria in early times.

Tarquinii, as other Etrurian towns, was so far advanced in art, as to have attained pride in its own superiority and contempt of "outside barbarians." No stronger cause was needed for a man like Tarquin to remove to Rome. He migrated with a great troop of friends and retainers, who were hospitably received in Rome, and established there under the name of the *Gens Tarquinia*,* or clan *derived from Tarquinii.* This circumstance makes it improbable that any Roman clan, hitherto, had been notoriously Etruscan. He is said to have brought great wealth with him. Livy tells us that he speedily obtained the friendship of King Ancus by his personal accomplishments; the nature of the case may have suggested to Dionysius that he ingratiated himself by rare presents, as also by his eminent warlike service. We can scarcely be wrong in believing his account† that Tarquin received an allotment of land for his whole clan, with admission into the Quirite patricians. Such, in fact, was the parallel history of the first Appius Claudius. Moreover, the statement of Dionysius is intrinsically credible, that the Tarquinian clan so reinforced the Roman armies, as sensibly to contribute to Ancus's successes against the Latins; in which case it would have earned for itself estates in Latium, which the rude justice of the Quirites

* In Cicero De Rep., ii. 25, the Gens Tarquinia appears.

† Dionysius, iii. 48.

would gladly sanction. We do not know enough of the condition of Etruria to judge whether Tanaquil, on whom the Romans seem to have bestowed the Latin name of Caia Cæcilia,* may have retained a right to the rents of Tarquinian estates even while an absentee at Rome. But, consideriug the general advances of commerce and art in Tarquinii, and the necessarily high standard which landed rents then assume in a limited territory, we see no disproof of such a theory. If it be admitted as possible, that Tarquin, even in Rome, continued to enjoy the revenues and connection, as well as the name, of an Etruscan lucumo, it may make the rest of the story still more intelligible.

An Etruscan, of Corinthian birth, was likely to possess an extent of geographical and political information which must have been surprising to a rigid Sabine; and as his warlike skill is also highly commended, there is nothing absurd in the statement that Ancus made him by will governor of his children. As nothing turns upon it, this appears like a genuine tradition. On the death of Ancus, a new king was to be elected; but no precedent existed for any one offering his name as *a candidate* for the royal power. It has appeared from the account in Plutarch, and by the nature of the case, that it was the senate's duty to suggest a name to the *interrex;* after which the interrex asked the

* Varro in Niebuhr.

curies, "Will you, or will you not, have such a one for your king?" But it was not probable that the senate would name an Etruscan: Tarquin therefore (as the Romans called the head of the *Gens Tarquinia*) resolved upon the innovation of soliciting votes, a thing previously unheard of among the Sabines. A party in Rome whom he chiefly tried to win over, were either already called, or were shortly after called, the *lesser clans*. On their position before his election there may be some uncertainty.

If Livy were our only guide, we might possibly imagine that the lesser clans were already patricians, though none of their members were yet called into the senate. Such an anomaly would suggest that they had been Etruscan, and that their foreign tongue had been the impediment to summoning them to council; but that when, after some generations, they all talked Latin, discontent arose at the restriction, and their votes in the curies supported the candidate for the throne who promised to abolish it. And this might at first seem the easiest explanation of the events.*

But Livy's account, though obscure, contains that the name "lesser clans" was not given till *after* their elevation by Tarquin. Probably, then, he meant the same thing as Dionysius expressly de-

* I have above suggested that the very name "Gens Tarquinia" goes to prove that *no* clan of Rome at that time was regarded as Etruscan—which would be another objection to this theory.

clares, and which we must be content to follow. Both historians agree that Tarquin courted the *plebs*, and was successful by their favor. Yet it must not be inferred that the plebs had any vote in the curies; but we know well in England how great an influence the earnestly-expressed desire of the unenfranchised masses exercises on the votes of parliament; and we need not doubt that a like effect would be produced on the curies by the warm zeal of powerful Latin chieftains, whose disaffection to a new king might weaken the state. In every rapidly-advancing community, whether kingly Rome or republican North America, the movement-party is apt to be the stronger. To the whole Latin interest, as well as to the Etruscan, Tarquin, as a foreigner, was more trustworthy than an old patrician could have been. His personal accomplishments, wealth, and bravery, recommended him to the curies; and if, at this period, he promised, upon his election, to move for adopting a large body of distinguished men of foreign origin into the patriciate, it is possible (as already hinted) that this very promise may have been equally acceptable to the existing patrician body, if they saw that by retaining a powerful class unenfranchised, and therefore in direct dependence on the crown, the king was becoming formidable to the interests of their order. The election of Tarquin under such circumstances is not so violent an innovation as to need the theory of a

foreign conquest. That the usual formalities of the *interreges* were observed, is stated by Dionysius, and perhaps is rightly assumed. Certain it is that the Etruscan became king, and that no Roman suspected any decorous and legal rite to have been wanting in his enthronement.

If it be admitted that his personal canvassing and the pledges which he gave before election, or demonstrations of warlike force, made perhaps by his partisans, were a breach* of Sabine propriety, yet this must not be confounded with the violence of conquest. There is much between the two. Let us remember how William the Norman was first crowned king of England. He had a claim to the crown by birth, though a very bad one: his immediate rival fell in the battle of Hastings; the nearest heir was an incapable youth: William was an energetic man, whom warriors would not be ashamed to follow. A compromise took place, and he was received as king. In the elections of Poland it is notorious how many votes were won by the possession of powerful retinues. No doubt an election so obtained weakens constitutional morality, and prepares worse times in the future. Indeed, the breach of precedent once established at Tarquin's elevation is the probable reason that henceforward the suc-

* It is not credible that there was any *law* to enact that the king must be alternately Sabine and Romulian (which would, of course, make the election of an Etruscan absolutely unlawful); for such a law would have practically prohibited the fusion of the two races.

cession of the throne was seized and not waited for. This result was *less* likely to follow from an avowed conquest than from such a smaller innovation as Livy narrates.

As king, Tarquin could bring before the curies the proposal to admit his partisans into the patriciate; and the curies, who had just elected him with a foreknowledge of his intentions, were not likely to refuse: but it must be carefully observed that it lay entirely with them to admit or refuse admission. On the contrary, the king had equally unquestioned right to call any patrician into his senate (or privy council). Whether he could place a plebeian there, is perhaps a quēstion of mere curiosity; for it would seem that such a proceeding would have been too offensive* to be thought of. In result, the ancients believed that the senate now received *a hundred* new members, chosen from the new patricians, who were called the *lesser clans.*

It must be believed that the Latin language was already talked in the senate, though not *such* a Latin as we could understand. Had the Sabine tongue established itself there, the easy fusion of parties which we trace would hardly have been possible. But as our Norman barons became Anglicized in

* Under the early republic, we find plebeians in the senate who had not held any high magistracy. These must have been introduced by the favor of some consul or consular tribune: which indicates that the king would have been thought to exercise a right that belonged to him, had he brought a plebeian into the senate.

five or six generations, so was it with the Sabines when introduced into a prevailing Latin community: and Numa's measures for blending the two races were fully successful.

Tarquin further resolved to double his cavalry—as Livy supposed, for purely military reasons; but the moderns in general refuse this explanation as superficial. Hitherto, the three squadrons of knights, named after the obsolete tribes *Tities*, *Ramnes*, *Luceres*, had been composed entirely of young patricians. It was natural to make new squadrons, taken from the new patricians of the lesser clans; and this is exactly what Tarquin did. In fact, we have reason to believe that to this circumstance alone we owe the preservation of the title *greater* and *lesser* clans, which was perpetuated to the very end of the Roman republic, although it never had any political significance whatever as far as we can discern. Apparently, as, for augural good luck, the names of the three Romulian squadrons and their tribunes (whom Dionysius* treats only as *priests*) were continued to the last, so were the names of the *greater* and *lesser clans*, when six squadrons were formed: but, to humor the scruples of the augur Attus Navius, Tarquin did not introduce three new *names*, but called them first and second Tities, first and second Ramnes, first and second Luceres; the

* Dion. ii., 64.

three squadrons named *second* being (as we suppose) composed of the lesser clans.

Whether any deeper policy lay at the bottom of the augur's objections, we have no materials for determining. To a Roman augur at any time of the republic it would have seemed an ill omen and a scandal to alter any number consecrated by augury. When three names had been transmitted as holy from unknown antiquity, to add to them (he would urge) must offend the gods. No doubt, at a later time, we observe that the conservative party, when beaten in constitutional battle, betakes itself to pretences of religion in order to save whatever yet can be saved: but unless there had been a time when such religious scruples were real and not pretended, they never could have been useful screens of political motive.

At any rate, Tarquin was too prudent to give to opponents any handle of religion against him. He might rather seem resolved to beat them with their own weapons, by adding fresh honor to augury and fresh splendor to every sacred ceremonial. His religious innovations, when examined in detail, will not appear at all calculated to offend Roman scrupulosity, but rather to gratify taste for art and for gorgeousness. He introduced sculptured images of the gods, which the low state of art, rather than principle, had previously forbidden. The foundation was laid of a splendid temple to Jupiter Capi-

tolinus, in which Jupiter and Minerva* had their appropriate shrines. The augurs were probably now first incorporated into public colleges, and thereby invested with their full dignity in the state. Etruscan *haruspices* were indeed consulted by Tarquin, but did not become public officers. They rather stood outside of the state, like the Pythia of the Delphic oracle, or perhaps like the diviners of the Greek republics. Yet as, from this period downward, the interior of slain victims was occasionally inspected in Greek fashion, and omens by lightning were interpreted by Etruscan rules, the assistance of an *haruspex* was often necessary. Tarquin also brought in horseraces and boxers, instituted the great or Roman games, and built the Circus Maximus for the convenience of spectators. All these novelties are at least as much Greek as Etruscan, and agree with the belief that Greek commerce had already largely affected the taste and religion of southern Etruria. In all his changes, the new king did but spread Etruscan varnish over the rigid framework of Numa.

Similarly he added to the outward pomp of royalty. According to Dionysius (iii., 61), he was the earliest Roman king who assumed the Etruscan in-

* The name Minerva seems to be Etruscan, though the conception has been filled up from the Greek Pallas Athene. The names Jupiter and Junone are pure Latin; in Sabine, Janus and Jana (that is, Dianus and Diana); in Etruscan, Tinia and Kupra.

signia of magistracy—"a golden crown, an ivory chair, a sceptre topped with an eagle, a crimson robe studded with gold, and a variegated crimson cloak, such as the kings of the Lydians and Persians wore, only not square like theirs, but semicircular. Such garments the Romans call *togas*." He proceeds to tell that some ascribed to Tarquin the introduction of the custom of having twelve lictors armed with axes to precede the king. This also he calls Etruscan, but confesses that some alleged it to have come down from the beginning of the monarchy.

In fact, it seems necessary to believe this, unless we regard Tarquin as in the strictest sense conqueror of Rome; for of all insignia this must have been the most revolting, if suddenly introduced. Only on the supposition of its representing supreme *military* sway, could it be endured by free men. A barbarous emblem, natural and in some sense necessary in a camp of promiscuous outlaws, was continued and incorporated with the splendid garb of peace, when order and art had become victorious in society.

Modern critics in general reject, and with good reason, the great conquest of Etruria ascribed to Tarquin by Dionysius, the only foundation of which perhaps lay in Tarquin's assumption of the regal pomp of Etruria. The only wars attributed to him by Livy and others are against the Sabines and

against the Latins; and Livy never undervalues the military successes of Rome.

Tarquin had undertaken the arduous and splendid task of encircling the city with a stone-wall, but was interrupted by an attack of the Sabines, and Rome itself came into no small danger. Yet, according to our historian, the Sabines were not only repelled, but forced to cede their own town of Collatia as the penalty of their rashness.

From the Latins this king took the town of Apiolæ, whence he obtained great booty. Against the *Ancient* Latins he had still more decided success, so that the towns of Corniculum, old Ficulea, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, the power and wealth of which kept perpetually swelling. The stone circuit-wall was built; several great drains were commenced, to relieve the marshiness of the forum; an area was cleared on the Capitol, and substructions laid, to support the magnificent temple to Capitoline Jupiter already mentioned.

The drains to which we have alluded were in every way an extraordinary undertaking. The greatest of them remains to this day, and is of such solidity, from the magnitude of the stones, as to have been unaffected by earthquakes, by frost, or by the effects of vegetation. From this single fact it has been opined that Tarquin must have ruled over all Etruria and Latium, possessed of immense resources

in wealth, and arbitrarily disposing of the labor of an enslaved people. But such inferences are insecure; the work of slaves is not cheaper than that of freemen. The Etruscans were accustomed to Cyclopean building: Tarquin brought the idea with him, and easily obtained skilful architects and masons. The obvious and great utility of the work to Rome is likely to have secured the zealous co-operation of the whole state. It is indeed wonderful that those who know the surprising efforts of free and second-rate Greek cities, like Selinus in Sicily, in building magnificent temples, can imagine slavery to be essential to great public works. At the same time, Livy does not represent the great drain as finished in this one reign, but, like the Capitoline temple, to have been completed only by the second Tarquin. A later age, out of the magnitude of the work, was likely to invent the fancy that it was executed with great oppression to the people. If all the records of England were to perish, a future historian, on surveying our railroads, may perhaps confidently pronounce that they were impossible except by the taskwork of slaves.

Though the victories and splendor of Tarquin's reign have been exaggerated by Dionysius, we can not doubt that it was on the whole able and successful. Its policy was that of the former kings—to enfranchise and elevate the new population, and blend it with the old; in consequence of which the

Sabine language had shared the fate of the Pelasgian, Etruscan, and Hellenic, all of which in turn were swallowed up by the Latin, although probably leaving their marks upon it. As in England the British and Norman population were gradually Saxonized, and a homogeneous race rose out of the fusion, so in Rome was it with the upper classes, which, by being received into the patriciate, adopted Sabine religion. But the impossibility of patrician intermarriage with those who had different matrimonial ceremonies and rights, marked off the *plebs* of Rome as a separate nation from the patricians, even when both talked the same Latin tongue. To explain this more fully, a few words are needed on the Latin *matrimonium*.

There can be little doubt that the principles of marriage established in later Rome, when Latin influences had become dominant in social life, rose out of the Latin in contrast to the Sabine customs. In the Latin practice, the wife never came "into the hand" of her husband, but remained permanently in her father's power: in consequence of which, the father, if offended, might at any time recall his daughter, and even give her away to another; nor had the Latin father the same power over his children as in Sabine law. How the Sabines looked on so lax a union, may be in part gathered from the singular phraseology of the later Roman law,* which

* Eisendecher (on "Old Roman Citizenship"), Hamburgh, 1829,

transfers to the marriages of those who are not Quirites terms which must once have been applicable to plebeian unions. A marriage made with the sacred auspices is called *connubium*, or *nuptiæ legitimæ*, and the wife is a *justa uxor;* but a marriage valid in law, yet deficient in ceremonial sanctity, is designated only as *matrimonium*, and the wife is oddly called *injusta uxor* (an illegitimate wife?). The name itself of *matrimony*, now so honorable, may of itself indicate that the domestic morality of the oldest Latins was less elevated and more barbarous than that of the Sabines. In the savage or infantine state of human society, no union between the sexes is ratified until children are born. Prior to this event, the woman has no claims on the man; and if they separate without becoming parents of a common offspring, society has nothing to do with their mutual intimacy, any more than with an ordinary friendship. But on the impending birth of a child, the weakness and helplessness of woman claim the cares, attentions, and solace, of her partner: the society discerns and avows that she is entitled to *a mother's support* (*matrimonium*), stigmatizes the father as unjust, and punishes him by law, if he neglects the duties contingent on his paternal character. This is indeed a close description of the present state of sexual morality among the lower

gives the quotations from Paulus, Modestin, Tribonian; besides Festus, Varro, Ulpian, Gaius, Boethius, and commoner classics.

orders of Wales; and the tone of grief and almost of disgust which pervades a recent report to the English parliament on this topic, may possibly represent to us the disdain and scorn with which the rigid Sabines viewed the matrimony of the Latin plebeians. Whether, in the time of Tarquin, the plebs of Rome were, in any true moral view, lower as to these matters than the Sabines, we have no sure means of knowledge: but it must not be left out of sight that to the latest time of Rome a valid marriage was constituted by mere *usus* or habitual union; so that, after all Quirites had gained the right of sacred nuptial auspices, every wife was in danger of falling "into the hand" of her husband, unless she absented herself from his house one day in every year. This total unimportance of any marriage ceremony* must apparently have been part of the same Latin custom. But the patricians, to the last, looked on a marriage so formed as less pleasing to the gods. No man could become a Roman priest—no boys or girls could sing in sacred chorus on the public festivals, unless born of a marriage contracted by holy bride-cake (*confarreatio*), with religious auspices, sanctioned by an augur and pontiff.

The mass of the Latin population subject to Rome

* This is still the *law* in Scotland, and equally comes down from primitive rudeness. It is now corrected by a practical elevation of public moral feeling.

no doubt at this time preferred its own "common law:" only the chief men were ambitious of admission into the curies, and they generally attained this. But where aristocracy ceased and commonalty began, society could not unite. The diversity of marriage cut them apart; and the longer this state of things endured, the more did they necessarily grow into two separate races or castes.

As Tarquin rose upon the support of the commonalty, so, we have reason to believe, he continued to the end in the same interests. At least this is the only conclusion to which the few facts that we know—including his tragical end—direct us. If we can at all trust a dark passage in Livy, eminently agreeing with intrinsic probability, already in this reign appeal began to be made to an embryo assembly, more democratic than the curies—that of the national militia, arranged under its banners, with the solemn attendance of augurs. Of this Livy says* that, under Tarquin, "the honor of augury and of the augural priesthood so increased, that nothing went on in military or civil life, except according to the auspices; so that the meetings of the people, *the convocations of the army*, and the highest business of state, was broken up, if the birds did not give assent." Unless the army—that is, the militia of the nation—had some more active function than to listen—unless it was called on to say

* Livy, i., 36.

"Yes" or "No" on some question—there was no room for dissent of the birds or gods. We must imagine, then, that either questions of peace and war, or questions concerning the choice of officers or distribution of booty, were brought by this king before the militia. How his successor modified and systematized this assembly, we shall afterward hear.

At the same time, the course of the history suggests that Tarquin used very effectually the control over the national army, to which we have alluded, as accruing to the king from the preponderance of plebeians in it. They were naturally the king's direct dependants, as the proper clients were to the patricians. Tradition likewise spoke of Cæles Vibenna (too mythical a character to identify) and Mastarna as Etruscan leaders of hired troops in the army of Tarquin. The king's prerogative allowed his enrolling as many men as he pleased under his banner, as long as he could pay and feed them from his own resources or from the plunder of the enemy: and his power of organizing and marshalling the whole army was unlimited by law or theory, though hitherto controlled by custom. He now introduced the Græco-Etruscan phalanx,* with the round shield (*clypeus*) and the metal helmet (*cassis*), in place of the Sabine *scutum* and *galea*, which were left to the

* Diod. (Excerp. Maii., xxiii., 1) witnesses to the fact that these *were* adopted by the Romans from the Etruscans. As to the time and mode, we must theorize for ourselves.

second-class warriors. He, moreover, used his absolute military command to re-distribute the ranks, probably with the view of attaining that uniformity in armor and weapons, without which neither the operations of the Græco-Etruscan phalanx nor any regular tactics could be successful. This may have been sincerely designed as a military, and not at all as a political, measure; but it had the effect of separating clients from the side of their patrons, and mixing them in the plebeian ranks, which finally destroyed the power of the nobility to offer armed resistance to the king when the national forces met. We are disposed to place this important change in the reign of Tarquin, both because it aids to explain the hatred which he at last incurred with the old nobility, and because, if it had been part of Servius's reform, it would so manifestly have had the purely political aim of stripping the patricians of their dependants, that it must almost certainly have caused an explosion of civil war.

It agrees with the theory of Tarquin resting on Latin partisans, that he chose a Latin for his son-in-law and most trusted officer. That he retained to the end the good-will of the Latins whom he had ennobled, is credible, and that their influence supported the fortunes of Servius after the death of Tarquin. But we can not doubt that the *greater clans*, the old Sabino-Albans, had become largely alienated from him. Whether they had aided at

his election, from hoping that the increase of patricians which he promised would strengthen their order against the crown, or whether they then gave way to an adverse majority or to danger from the unenfranchised multitude—in either case, they saw the Sabine interests to be sinking steadily. That an unsuccessful constitutional battle was fought by them no historian has recorded; but one must imagine many struggles of this nature, before they could be driven to despair and assent to use violence to their king. Yet such seems to have been the catastrophe. All antiquity agrees that the great Tarquin, after an able and very prosperous reign, was cut off by an assassination, which was currently attributed to the sons of Ancus.

This is perhaps the place to notice a subject, of which we do not know the true chronology—the institution of the officers called *quæstors* by the Romans. According to Tacitus,* they were appointed in the kingly period; and considering the growth of wealth in the Roman state under Tarquin, it may seem that it can not have been later than his reign. The word *quæsitor* or *quæstor* means "inquisitor," "examiner." We probably ought to conceive of these officers, who were two in number, as at first

* Annals, xi., 22. This is confirmed by Livy, who does not recount their institution during the republic. His phrase, "quæstores nulli erant" (Livy, iv., 24), may mean merely that their origin was not beyond memory and tradition. On the other hand, Plutarch (Public. 12) is directly opposed to Tacitus.

public prosecutors, or attorneys-general, whose duty was, at the king's order, to prosecute any persons who appealed to the collective Quirites against the executive power of the king. The most ordinary prosecution would be a pecuniary one, against those who were in debt to the king's exchequer: hence they gradually came to be considered as merely financial officers. A later age, indeed, discriminated the *quæsitor*, or extraordinary criminal judge, from the *quæstor*, or ordinary and annual finance-magistrate. But in the early accounts no such distinction is found. The quæstors (manifestly ordinary magistrates) from time to time* appear as public prosecutors; and nothing is commoner in an infant state than such confusion of duties. The old quæstors were not judges. Their appointment came absolutely from the king, and in fact was retained by the consuls, long after the fall of monarchy.

* Livy, ii., 41; iii., 24.

CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Unless we are to discard, as totally false, the tradition that *the sons of Ancus* instigated the murder of Tarquin, we ought apparently to regard it as meaning that a violent faction of the *greater clans* had conspired to recover their lost supremacy by this atrocious means. Hereditary succession had not once been acted on in Rome; and it is not probable that the sons of Ancus, if prompted by personal motives, could have hoped to profit by the crime.

Tarquin's son-in-law Servius was supposed to be son of a noble lady of Corniculum, who had been brought to Rome as a captive. As such, he was a Latin plebeian there, until ennobled by Tarquin, as we presume, among the lesser clans. At the time of the murder he was, no doubt, warden of the city, and as such had the command of the king's bodyguard. According to Livy, he without delay seized the opportunity, assumed the ensigns of royalty, and

usurped the supreme power of the state, without any election, yet with general approval.

Göttling, indeed, thinks he has Cicero's* authority for believing that Servius, as warden of the city, assembled the curies, and proposed his own name to them for election, and that they actually passed the formal vote in his favor. But with the death of the king, if we mistake not, the warden of the city lost all his powers. At any rate, to assume the duties of the *interrex* was unprecedented; and for a magistrate to propose his own name was at all times regarded by the Romans as an odiously unconstitutional proceeding. Perhaps, therefore, even if Göttling rightly interprets this affair, it was not the less regarded as a usurpation by those who were scrupulous about law and form. But we have no materials for deciding whether a majority in the curies at this moment were likely to wink at a violation of Sabine propriety.

The bulk of the people can not have felt scruples. To them it must have seemed beyond doubt that the murder of Tarquin was not an act of private vengeance, but the outbreak of disappointed faction, aiming at a reactionary policy. The entire Latin party therefore looked on it as a blow aimed

* Cicero (De Rep. ii., 21) says: "Non commisit se patribus [that is, says Göttling, he did not trust the results of a decree of *the senate*, and of an election held by an interrex], sed populum de se ipse consuluit," &c. . . . . But Livy says this too. The question is, "How soon was it done?"

at themselves, and Servius may have sincerely expected to be himself the next victim, unless he used energetic measures to avenge his murdered father-in-law. In later times the Romans felt peculiarly shocked if a consul fell in battle: if he died during his office, it was ominous: if he was murdered, even for outrageous cruelty, it was an appalling enormity. Similar feelings may have arisen at the tragical fate of Tarquin. Servius could plausibly insist that no ordinary election of a new king could be honorably and safely carried on while party-violence so unscrupulous was abroad, and infected the very patricians; and it is possible that no small fraction of the senate looked on with a passive satisfaction at Servius's decisive measures, as needful to save the state from anarchy.

According to Livy and Cicero, the first act of Servius was to repel the aggressions of the Etruscans, that is, of the state of Veii. Livy calls the war "opportune"—as though the Roman leader was anxious to gain some victory and win the hearts of the soldiers by booty, in order to pave his way to a legitimate royalty. His campaign was successful enough to give him popularity and confidence; but if we follow Livy or even Dionysius, he had a long task to perform before he chose to risk an election.

It is, however, quite manifest that none of our historians had authentic information of the state of feeling in the senate and in the curies; nor can we

reconcile Livy with Cicero, except by modes of interpretation which enable us to make them say* whatever we please. We are therefore cast upon general probabilities.

The members of a Roman senate died off so rapidly, that, being replaced at the will of the king, a strong party—probably a considerable majority—were devoted to Tarquin: but though they would have supported him or Servius in any ordinary measure, they can hardly have given more than passive approval to so serious a matter as a premature or irregular assumption of royalty. On the other hand, the curies, where all the patricians voted, would naturally be a more independent body than the senate; and as soon as it appeared that there was no danger of anarchy, we might expect from them a louder-expressed discontent than from the decorous senate: especially since in the curies the young patricians were contained, whose violence is often stigmatized by the historians. Such considerations seem to explain why Servius felt it dangerous to rest his power on the curies. The lesser clans had indeed owed their elevation to Tarquin; but that was a favor which could not secure permanent gratitude from their sons to Tarquin's son-in-law: and there were probably many Latins

* Thus *patres* is at our pleasure rendered "the senate," or "the curies;" and *populus* is at our pleasure "the curies" or "the centuries." Dionysius, who imagines the curies to consist of *the plebs*, is in this matter below criticism.

who thought that if royal power was to be usurped, they had as good a claim as Servius.

If a part of the curies was violently disaffected, and the good-will of the rest declining, it was uncertain whether a clear majority would consent to ennoble more plebeians at Servius's proposal; so that this mode of gaining new partisans, which had been useful to Tarquin, was perhaps impossible to him. On the other hand, he could trust the plebeians of Latin blood, if he espoused their cause; and their martial aid would suffice to make him independent of the patricians. He therefore selected this line of policy, from necessity as well as (we may believe) from preference; for it was fundamentally the policy of Tarquin, and it was still more eminently appropriate to a chieftain of Latin blood, who in his infancy had himself been treated as a captive-of-war at Rome. The power of the king in the army (if we do not mistake) had been greatly increased by distributing the clients among the ranks of the plebeians, through which, in a military sense, he was now independent of his nobles. But it will be observed that this was not the growing up of a despotism; for so long as the troops were a self-sustained national guard, they were no small guaranty against tyranny.

Nevertheless, Servius discerned that he could depend on the army to support any measures for lessening patrician predominance, and raising the ple-

beian mass; and he proceeded to perfect the organization of it which Tarquin had begun, in a military and in a constitutional sense. How that king introduced the Etruscan armor, and the use of the phalanx, and rearranged the troops, we have hinted above. To his successor is universally ascribed the enforcement of a periodical *register of property*, according to which he distributed all the citizens into five classes, and specified the armor which each man should wear.

All historians agree that Servius first divided the city into four tribes, called *Suburrana*, *Palatina*, *Esquilina*, *Collina;* which is equivalent to stating that he laid a war-tax on the city population. From these tribes (or parishes) the Capitol and the Aventine* were excluded. But, in fact, it is credible that he is the author of the systematic war-taxes, as applied to all the tribes—of country equally as of town. Each tribe (or parish) sent its quota of men to the army; but, besides this, it paid its *tributum* (tribe-money) for the support of these men during the campaign.† Yet in theory it was not so much a tax, as an advance of capital made for an adventure. In much later times‡ we find that the money is refunded when the war has been prosperous:

* The Capitol seems to have been all public property: the exclusion of the Aventine (Varro apud Göttling, § 91) is not satisfactorily explained.

† See Mommsen on the Tribes.

‡ Livy, xxxix., 7.

and this is received, not as a thing new in principle, but as the honorable fulfilling of duty.

More than five centuries later, historians imagined that they knew with great accuracy the details of Servius's military arrangements; and have hereby occasioned endless trouble to modern critics.* A little before the second Punic war, as far as can be ascertained—that is, three and a half centuries later—a great reform of the Roman *comitia* took place. Tradition and written documents gave pretty accurate information to the age of Cicero, as to the system which was abolished by the reform: and we may reasonably conjecture that what was then superseded was presumed to be exactly the system which Servius enacted, because there was no record of earlier changes. If we could fully understand this, we should know the arrangement of the national militia at the close of the first Punic war; but to identify the details of this with the Servian army is hazardous.

Nevertheless, as to the general principles of his arrangement, so much is clear: he introduced into the militia many things which had little to do with service in the field, because he wished so to organize it as to use its vote for civil purposes. The king, as supreme in all military affairs, had an un-

* Becker (Rom. Antt., vol. ii., p. 203) calls the discussions on this topic "a little library"—with no small reason, for he proceeds to enumerate twenty-seven treatises concerning it!

disputed right to convene the army, to take its vote according to any process which he chose, and to follow its advice in any matter in which he had a free decision. Thus he was able to commit it to the election of centurions or of higher officers, or to consult it on the division of spoil; and possibly, by a strained interpretation, land captured from the enemy might be included in spoil. Moreover, though it was constitutionally expected of the king to consult the senate on the question of war and peace, yet if he chose to consult the army also, it was difficult to blame him.

That Servius brought forward this new assembly by an unusual exertion of the king's ordinary prerogative, appears almost certain. A change which stripped the curies of their whole political importance, could not have proceeded from that assembly; and if it had been carried by force of arms, the curies would not have retained their formal and religious primacy. Their history is in some sense comparable to that of constitutional monarchy, which has retained honor while losing power: in another sense we may compare them to our ecclesiastical bodies. Decency forbade Servius to consult the army on any matters which were purely and obviously civil or religious; and all these were left to the curies. But in a martial community like Rome, election of officers, and division of land and spoil, were the topics of most importance: while

admission into the patriciate, testaments, marriages and adoptions, and special questions between patricians, were of little concern to the mass of the plebeians. Not to offend the curies needlessly, Servius referred to them every decision of the army for their confirmation, and allowed them to reject anything which offended against religion. In this way the curies retained a right of objection on *formal* or *ceremonial* grounds alone, and gradually sank into an ecclesiastical position.

In Servius's new assembly, three elements were recognised as determining the votes—age, wealth, and numbers. Every corps was divided into *seniors*, or those above the age of forty-six, and *juniors*, or those of military age; and an equal number of votes was given to the two parts, although the juniors must probably have been three times as numerous as the seniors. This single principle removed all the worst dangers of crude democracy, in which the younger are always able to outvote the elder men. Again, the wealthier and better-armed classes had far more *centuries* allowed them than in proportion to their numbers; and as the voting was determined by the number of centuries, the mass of the poor exerted a very much smaller influence than in a system of uniform voting.

So much appears beyond doubt; but what part the patricians bore in this assembly is perhaps an insoluble problem. They can not have been ex-

cluded, else it would not have been a national assembly; to decide any public questions without them, would have been to subject them to vassalage; while if the curies had been practically coordinate with the centuries—the one all patrician and the other all plebeian—the state would have been rent asunder between the two.*

It seems essential to believe that the first class of the infantry, to which a great preponderance in voting-power was given, consisted almost wholly of patricians; not indeed of patricians as such, but of patricians as being the wealthiest part of the community and the best armed. Such an arrangement would go far to satisfy the curies under the innovation. Their clients also, voting generally with the inferior ranks, would count something; and although even the lesser clans might be far from pleased by the innovation, yet it was specious enough to damp very vehement indignation, and avoided to rouse despair.

The only cognizance taken of patricians, as such,

* Niebuhr thinks that the patricians had only six votes out of one hundred and ninety-three in the assembly of centuries—viz., the six which belonged to the six sacred patrician squadrons of horse: but it seems manifest that such a regulation could only belong to a late period of patrician decrepitude. Peter (Epochen) and Ihne (Forschungen, etc.) appear to have substantial truth, whatever be thought of details. Göttling improves a little on Niebuhr, yet takes so directly opposite a view of the six and twelve squadrons of horse, as may warn us that the materials can not conduct acute inquirers to agreement.

in the new *assembly of the centuries* (as it was called), lay in the six squadrons of horse, which, having received augural consecration, and indeed the names dating from the Romulian era, could not be abolished without evil omen. When patricians became poor—a common case when all the descendants of a nobleman were noble—they might perhaps get a place in the cavalry; but if they were forced to serve on foot, they had no other vote than the one which appertained to their corps, and was cognizable by their accoutrements. From this time forth, as far as we can judge, all who voted in the centuries were called *Quirites;* and the mass of the unarmed populace had a nominal vote given them, to bring them into the general franchise.

The assembly of the centuries preserved to the end all the symbols of its military origin, and met outside the city, on the "Field of Mars," where it was usual to review the troops. The two questions of first importance which we know to have been brought before it by Servius, were, an agrarian bill, and the confirmation of his own royalty.

Having ordered all unlicensed occupants to quit the public undivided land (that is, the portions of land which the towns successively conquered had been forced to cede to the Roman state), Servius, instead of proposing, as usual, to settle clans upon it—in which case the heads of the clan had large rights reserved to them from the tenants—brought

forward a bill to give equal lots and rights to all who partook of the division.* Such a bill yielded nothing to patricians, unless they were poor enough to submit to personal service on the soil. The plebeians who accepted the land held directly of the king; and though probably subject to some customary tax, this must have been light in comparison to the ordinary burdens of citizenship. We can hardly doubt that this exhibits the *Latin* as opposed to the *Sabine* mode of dividing public land.

The agrarian law being passed, he ventured to ask the assembly, in direct words, whether they wished to have him as king; and the affirmative reply was unanimous. We must add that, if we rightly interpret Cicero,† he *after this* carried in the assembly of the curies a law confirming his "*imperium*," or military command; which, being essentially a sacred and almost sacerdotal office, needed at all times a special vote of the curies.

It is certain that the authority of this assembly was never disowned; it only grew obsolete, and was turned into an empty form, as to all political measures. In Cicero's time, its nominal confirmation was still essential ("for the sake of the auspices," says he‡), when only thirty beadles assembled to

* Livy, i., 46, describes the bill in the same terms as Cicero uses (Brut. xiv., § 57) to vituperate C. Flaminius's demagogic law: "Agro capto ex hostibus *viritim* diviso."

† De Repub., ii., 21.

‡ In Rullum, ii., 11, 12.

pass the vote; without which, the acts of other bodies had no religious rightfulness. We can compare this to nothing but the election of an English bishop by a dean and chapter, after what is *called* "the permission," but is *really* "the compulsion," of the crown. Unless the dean and chapter perform the ceremony, no election valid in law is possible; yet it has been contrived that the dean and chapter shall exert no choice or judgment at all. With us, indeed, the parties who are to give the religious sanction are severely punishable by law if they refuse. The collective curies could not be punished; but as their obstinacy (in any matter involving great public interests) might have caused civil war, they gave way to the centuries, nearly as our house of lords to the commons, until their authority became utterly antiquated. Indeed, as to wills and adoptions, and admissions into the patriciate, the curies retained their full powers; but whenever their action is referred to in Livy (which is not often), we hear only of ceremonial and augural reasons urged by it for rejecting some measure or some election. And this became a useful tool of party. It appears clear, therefore, that in political matters the exclusively patrician assembly became a judge solely of *form*, and passed over into a part of the merely ecclesiastical system. This revolution may have gone on gradually through Servius's reign. Under his successor all public liberty was overthrown;

and when out of the ruins of royalty the republic arose, the curies had no life in them to reassert power, and their ceremonial position was finally settled.

Niebuhr first alleged that the formula by which the *curies* confirmed any measure was by the well-known phrase, "The *fathers* give their sanction;" and though the question has called forth lively opposition,* the suffrages of critics appear to be on Niebuhr's side.

In regard to the decay of public power in the curies, an argument applied by Niebuhr at a much later era will be of avail here. A large part of the patricians who voted in them were poor men, living at the table of their richer relatives, or withdrawn in obscure life; and the voting of such an assembly had something so democratic in it, as to have deceived Dionysius into the grave error of confounding the curies with the *plebs*. The senate under the republic often talked high of the ascendency of the patricians, but its real desire was the ascendency of the heads of patrician families. It is, then, far from improbable that the leading patricians, the actual senators, preferred such an assembly as the centuries—in which *wealth* prevailed, and in which they could command the votes of their clients—to the curies, in which they were liable to be outvoted by their own younger relations. But whatever the

* See Becker's elaborate refutation of Rubino's counter theory; Antt. ii., pp. 138, 315.

course of events which degraded the curies, it was peaceful and gradual, and not produced by convulsive force. Indeed, no rumor of political collision between curies and centuries at any time has come down to us, except (according to Niebuhr's probably just interpretation) when the law carried by the centuries for a plebeian consul, B. C. 366, was refused the sanction of the curies as irreligious. But the senate wisely prevailed on the patricians in the curies to withdraw an opposition which would have brought the state into peril.

But the more the curies lost in political power, the more did they cling to their religious formalities, and the stiffer was their pride in the sacred superiority of the patrician. From this period we trace the growth of that exclusiveness which closed the doors of the thirty curies against meritorious and able plebeians, and refused to strengthen a failing order by continuing the policy on which it had risen. Once only henceforth do we read of a large admission of plebeians into the patrician ranks, and that is at the crisis of a dangerous revolution, to supply the seats in the senate desolated by the tyranny of the second Tarquin. That measure produced an immense strengthening of patrician power, and a corresponding weakness in the plebeians, all whose chief men were drawn off from them; yet it was never again imitated. The plebeians learned to be prouder of their Latin religion and Latin mar-

riage than of any Sabine ceremonies, until at last patricianism sank by natural exhaustion.

The decisive transition of power, from the curies to the centuries, must have probably hastened another social revolution very displeasing to the patricians.

The sons of a client were not by birth and by necessity clients to their father's patron, but they became clients by a special religious ceremony. The client's son who succeeded to his father's tenancy of land must have been *expected* by the patron to enter into this relation, and, if he refused, a positive enmity was likely to arise. But the new assembly, and the position of Severus toward the plebeians, held out a temptation to the country-people to keep aloof from clientship. For, on the one hand, the client could not use his vote in the centuries as he pleased, since he found that he was expected to support his patron's wishes; on the other, the free plebeians looked up to the king as their adequate and all-competent patron, to whom they could appeal for justice, without paying court to a patrician noble.

Servius, according to Dionysius (iv., 25), not being able to hear all causes himself, was the first king who appointed royal judges to take cognizance of private lawsuits. We do not know their Roman title, for they seem to have had no successors during the early republic; but under Servius we can

not doubt that the plebeians had as easy and direct access to them as the patricians. It is, then, probable that during his whole reign there was a gradual falling off of country clientage, and a breach began to open between the farm-tenants and the patrician landlords who felt their patronage to be scorned. In proportion as this went on, the power of the patricians in the centuriate assembly would be weakened, and that of the king confirmed.

In the narrative of Livy, eighty thousand citizens are assigned to Servius's first census; and this number, even if conjectural, may seem not incredible, if we believe that at this time slavery scarcely existed at Rome, so that the number is in fact that of adult males in the community. We do not know the extent of territory which paid allegiance to Servius, but we know that the city was growing rapidly, on the Viminal and Esquiline, as well as over the Quirinal hill, and that this king carried forward the *pomœrium*, and surrounded the city partly with a moat and rampart, partly with a wall, so as to give to it a magnitude which for centuries it did not seek to exceed. As Ancus surpassed Tullus, and was surpassed by Tarquin, so under Servius Tullius, we can not doubt, the power and greatness of Rome became more and more consolidated.

To extend the pomœrium, or sacred belt, of the city, was at all times in Rome a matter of high political and religious importance. The first founders

of cities appear to have discerned the necessity of restricting their limits by public law: and their theory of land, especially of town-land, was more just, and more expedient for the many, than the notions which have gained currency in modern England. The community itself decided, by its legitimate authorities, how large the city should grow; and though at a later time private convenience triumphed over public welfare, all the ancients would have agreed that the state was justified in extending the sacred belt, on which it was forbidden to build, to any breadth which the health or welfare of the city seemed to demand. The pomœrium, indeed, as now fixed by Servius, was of very extended circuit. It included all the seven historical hills of Rome; and the space included by Servius's celebrated rampart would probably always have allowed large open spaces, conducive to health, comfort, and recreation, had not Rome, to her own misery and to the world's millennial decline, become at length an imperial city to Europe.

Concerning Servius's wars* we know little or nothing. More valuable to Rome than any conquest was the accession of the remaining Latin

* Dionysius attributes to him a twenty years' war against all Etruria, which ends in his complete success. The three towns which first revolted — Agylla, Tarquinii, and Veii — were condemned to lose land for the benefit of newly-admitted Roman citizens. But all this presupposes that Tarquin was lord of Etruria, and, with that, is omitted by Livy.

towns. Indeed, after so many had been conquered by Ancus and by Tarquin, it might have been hard for the others to resist; but the policy pursued by Servius removed all desire to refuse Roman supremacy, for they saw in Rome itself their own race becoming predominant. The king was a Latin by birth, and he had so enfranchised the whole plebeian body, that it now exercised under him a full and fair influence. The little Latin towns needed some powerful leader, and were always accustomed to confederate: what better leading city could they find than the Rome of Servius Tullius? When, therefore, this king courted their chief men by every act of kindness, he at length induced the Latins to combine with him in building at Rome a temple to Diana on the Aventine; which (as Livy justly observes) was in itself a confession of Roman supremacy. As we can not imagine them to have been tricked into this solemn act, we must infer that there was at this time an actual league between Rome and the Latin states, as indeed Dionysius* asserts—a league in which all found substantial advantage, but in which Rome carried off the chief honor.

* He says (iv., 26) that the brazen pillar recording the treaty remained to his day; and if he had stated that he had read and understood it, this would be quite decisive. But his chief interest in the treaty seems to have turned on the fact of its being *in Greek characters*, which he thought to prove that the Romans were not barbarians, but a Hellenic people!

None of the ancients ascribe to Servius any rudeness, insolence, or cruelty, toward the senate, or toward any part of the patricians, or any wanton endeavor to lower the dignity of this order. Yet it is probable that the more the results of his measures unfolded themselves, the more manifest it became to the whole patrician body that his policy, however excellent and glorious for the state, was fatal to their power. At the opening of his reign, he may have had on his side no small portion of the patricians; but after they began to understand the meaning of their own deeds, and to discover that patricianism was sinking and plebeianism rising in the scale, we must believe that even the lesser clans would gradually be offended — would cease to sympathize with the plebeians as Latins, and be attracted into a common interest with the greater clans. Indeed, if we have rightly conjectured the effect of his measures on the *clients*, the patrician order may have begun to regard his reign as virtually to them a Latin conquest, and a social revolution. When they were in such a state of mind, the mode in which he originally seized the royal station would lead them in private to denounce him as a usurper, and to justify removing him by force.

We can not therefore greatly wonder at the catastrophe which terminated his reign and life. Lucius Tarquinius, head of the Tarquinian clan, used the odium into which Servius had fallen with the

patricians as the means of his own advancement. Applying himself peculiarly to win the lesser clans —to whom he could say that they owed their elevation to Tarquin, their degradation to Servius— when he had succeeded with them, he could securely trust the aversion borne against Servius by the greater clans. When all was ripe for his attempt, he attacked the aged king in the senate-house itself, and assassinated him by the hands of some of his retainers, no one defending him. This deed of blood is narrated by Roman history with all the details that make it pathetic and horrible. Tarquin (it is said) was allied to Servius by marriage, as Servius to the elder Tarquin. A later age, which knew of the wicked tyranny which followed this base murder, made it still more odious by filial perfidy. Tullia, daughter of Servius (if we believe the tale), assassinated—first her husband, Tarquin's brother, and then her sister, Tarquin's wife, in order to effect her union with this ambitious and fierce man; and after instigating him to the murder of her father, drove her horses over Servius's body as it lay in the open street! One thing alone seems certain: that the patricians, as an order, were guilty of connivance; and that if few were actually in conspiracy, none rallied in defence of the king. If he had been a tyrant, he would have kept a powerful body-guard around him; but because, conscious of his wise and moderate government, he trusted himself unarmed

among his nobles, he was butchered unresisting and unavenged.

"Servius Tullius so reigned," says Livy, "that even to a good and moderate king succeeding him, emulation would have been difficult. But it was an accession to his glory, that with him constitutional monarchy fell. Mild and moderate as was his rule, yet even this, because it was the rule of one man, some authors report that he intended to renounce, had not domestic crime cut him off." This report is obviously only an exaggerated representation of the systematic policy by which he raised the plebeians into an order of the state, and vindicated their just rights.

CHAPTER X.

TARQUIN THE PROUD.

We have reason to believe that, during the reigns of Tarquin the Elder and of Servius, the two parties into which the Roman state was divided consisted of the Sabino-Romans on the one side and of the Latin population on the other. The king, as always hitherto in Rome, threw himself on to the side of progress, and successfully elevated the Latins. But the effect of their absolute triumph under Servius was to break up that division of parties, and to introduce a totally new one, previously unknown, which was no longer a contrast of *races*, but of *order*. The lesser clans, which we believe to have been chiefly Latin, were henceforth cemented in one interest with the greater, as patricians; and no separation between them ever again shows itself in Roman history. The distinction indeed between them was wholly factitious and nominal; probably just visible in the fact that out of the *lesser* clans was formed the *second* century of horse in each of the old patrician tribes: and this was enough to

sustain the distinction to the latest times of the republic. But, as patricians, the greater and the lesser were now one against the plebeians.

According to Livy, the very first acts of Tarquin showed his intention to rule tyrannically. He summarily slew the senators whom he regarded as Servius's partisans, and protected his own person with a formidable body-guard. He did not seek to obtain his election from people or patres. He held in person, without *duumviri* or other responsible judges, trials for capital offences, and wholly refused the right of appeal from his sentence. In this way he arbitrarily put to death or bānished numbers of the senators, and chose none into their place. Indeed, he seldom assembled the senate at all, but carried on public affairs by a domestic cabinet.

This account seems to attribute to Tarquin from the beginning that which is likely to have arisen only gradually. When he had slain Servius, who was on his side? Not the mass of the populace — not the national army. He can not have had an attached military force capable of defying the will of the nation. It is manifest that he must *at first* have had a majority of the senators and of the patricians with him, whose influence supported him until he was firm in power. To destroy the Servian parliament was possibly their great object. The senate (it must be believed) aided him with

their influence, and established his body-guard, to make him independent of the national militia. Not until by such treason to liberty they had lost their reputation with the mass of the nation, could he have become bold enough to attack the senators themselves. They had sold themselves to become tools of his ambition, in the expectation that he would establish them as the lords of the state; but after a time they found to their disappointment that he was resolved to be their master, and that he proved a far severer one than Servius had been. Then followed resentment and controversy, alienation with probably faction and intrigue, which the king suppressed by decisive violence. It is credible that the thoughtless multitude might at first rejoice, at seeing retribution come on those whom it regarded as accomplices in the death of the good king Servius, and who had assisted in suppressing the meeting of the centuries. But when Tarquin's tyranny had thus cut off many eminent patricians, and terrified them all, the commonalty found too late that they had no longer any leaders, and that they could not regain their free assemblies if the king did not choose to summon them.

A further attempt of Tarquin was to turn his alliance with the Latins into an empire by aid of their highest nobility. To Octavius Mamilius, chief of Tusculum, he gave his daughter in marriage, and paid much court to those whose friendship might

serve him: but to terrify opponents (if we can believe our hostile historians), he crushed and slew by false accusation and treachery Turnus Herdonius of Aricia, who inveighed against Tarquin's tyranny. After thus displaying his power, he ordered a rendezvous of the Latin and Roman forces, and there reorganized the armies, so as to mingle Latins and Romans in the same companies. Such is the statement given to us: but perhaps it is mere exaggeration of the fact that Tarquin led the united forces of Rome and Latium against a dangerous enemy whose name we now first hear—the *Volscians;* whose wealthy capital of Suessa Pometia he captured, and made four hundred talents *of silver and gold** from the sale of the booty. The town of Gabii, which resisted him, was besieged, and, after a tedious war, was captured by treachery, and united to the league.

That the reign of Tarquin in Rome was ruinous to the patrician aristocracy, is beyond a doubt; but it is equally clear that he did not commit the error of driving the populace into despair, and uniting them in one cause with the patricians. Indeed, in spite of all that was afterward believed concerning him, it may be doubted whether his reign was not beneficial to the industrial interests of the commonalty at large. Nero was popular with the mass of the Roman people: Tarquin also, if he could not

* So Livy, i., 53.

win their affections, yet tried to bribe their interests. Success in war was a great point with a warlike people. Out of his share of the spoils of Pometia he began to build a temple to Jupiter on the substruction of the elder Tarquin. The popularity of this was so great, that the unpaid work of the masses is said to have been cheerfully contributed, when the public money failed (Livy, i., 56). Other important works are specified—the making the seats in the circus, and finishing the vast drain, which was begun by Tarquin the Elder, and probably was under completion during the entire reign of Servius. Besides this, the king sent out colonists to the Latin towns of Signia and Circeii—and to plant colonies was always a popular measure with the growing population of Rome. Signia to this day exhibits the Cyclopean architecture which Tarquin, perhaps following Etruscan patterns, taught the Romans henceforth to use in those frontier fortresses which they intended to be bulwarks of their empire. Thus all the notices of him surviving denote a monarch great in the arts of peace and war, and reigning beneficially to the material welfare of the plebeians, however cruelly violent to the aristocracy, and resolutely bent on crushing constitutional freedom.

The same policy of humbling the nobility, we may presume, led him to espouse the cause of country clients against their patrons, and to favor the

principle that the client held his land (subject to whatever payments to his patron) direct from the king, so that he could not be expelled at the patron's will. Certain it is that, when the monarchy vanished, the country people suffered severely from it; and had reason to wish for any king, good or bad, if only energetic to repress private tyranny. Just so, it is the policy of the emperors of Russia to enfranchise the serfs, break their connection with the nobles, and bring them into dependence on the crown. The course of the history under the republic makes it probable that in the reign of the second Tarquin was consummated the social revolution, which, nearly everywhere in the country tribes, broke the relation of clientship, and left to the patricians few clients except in the town of Rome.

The actual extent of Tarquin's power we pretty distinctly learn from a treaty which was made, immediately after his expulsion, between Rome and Carthage—in which it appears that Rome possesses the seacoast from the Tiber to Terracina. The Roman merchants and those of their league are not to sail into any of the harbors south of Cape Hermæum; they are allowed to trade at Carthage and in Libya westward, as also in Sardinia; and are to have in Sicily the same rights as the Carthaginians. The Romans on their part stipulate for the safety of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Aricia, Circeii, Terracina. This remarkable treaty, preserved to us by

Polybius (iii., 22), testifies to the high importance already attained by kingly Rome, and to a very considerable commercial development, under the guidance of Etruscan genius. Commerce can not flourish, unless property is secure, and industry meets its reward. Nor could it have been worth while to send to Carthage such rude produce as the plebeian plough would raise. Rome must have had Etruscan artisans, and other skilful hands, whose works were valued in Africa. Her wealth at this time was not solely plundered from her weaker neighbors, and her martial successes were not wholly independent of wealth. At least the fortifications of Signia indicate that the arts of peace aided the weapons of war.

To the eye of the external observer the power of Tarquin was firmly seated, and likely to be durable. Men who compute the strength of a monarchy by its wealth and its military force, might have judged it inferior to none then existing in Italy. Those who imagine popular movements to be guided by deep calculations and not by impulse, might have urged that the people "could gain nothing" by shaking off an energetic and politic master, in order to subject themselves to patrician tyrants. But the strength of a throne is in the affections of a nation, not in arguments of expediency. No one loved Tarquin, or would risk life and fortune to save him: hence his greatness had no depth of root,

and a private crime committed by one of his sons most unexpectedly and easily caused his downfall.

Among the cities of the Latin league, Ardea is reckoned; but, as it is called a town of the Rutulians, possibly they were of foreign blood to the Latins. For whatever reason, they refused to admit Tarquin's claims of supremacy, as head of the Latin league; and were in consequence attacked by him. But while he was engaged in the siege, his son Sextus perpetrated an unendurable outrage against the wife of his kinsman Collatinus Tarquinius—the noble Lucretia—who is said to have stabbed herself from indignation and shame. Hereupon her father Lucretius, warden of the city, her husband Collatinus, and his kinsman Brutus, who was then commander of the body-guard, flew to arms, and stirred up the populace against the dynasty. Tarquin's murder of Servius and of so many patricians now afforded abundant material for public invective: the corpse of Lucretia, exposed in the forum, inflamed the passions of the people, and a formidable army was raised. The gates of the city were shut against the king; the army at Ardea deserted his cause, and he was glad to escape with two of his sons to Agylla or Caere. Sextus Tarquinius, the guilty cause of this revolution, is said to have been slain at Gabii, whither he betook himself. Such was the sudden termination of Roman royalty. Tarquin looked indeed to Porsena, the Etruscan lord of

Clusium, and looked to his son-in-law of Tusculum, for aid: but neither of them, if victorious over Rome, was likely to make Tarquin a present of royal power. That power, having rested on no moral basis, was at best in an equilibrium of instability; and being overthrown for a moment, was destroyed for ever.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

The current history gives us only six elective kings—from Numa to the second Tarquin inclusively—for a period during which the most startling changes were brought about in Roman society. Under Numa is the effort to cement Sabines and Romulians into one people with one religion; and, under Tullus, Sabine religion finally triumphs. Under Tullus and Ancus, an influx of Latin population takes place; and by the end of Ancus's reign the two older races have been thoroughly blended into the *gentes majores*, and a new struggle of the *gentes minores* with them is at hand. These, however, are brought to equality under the elder Tarquin; and behold, under Servius, a totally new parliament, which supersedes the curies—an assembly which has been, as it were, worn out in only four reigns. The contest of *patrician* and *plebeian* seems already to be commencing. Thus, in fact, we have in only *five* elective reigns three different successive divisions of the state into an *in* and *out* party; and we know no reason for imagining that the length of

such reigns can have exceeded the average of twelve or fifteen years. If so, the history from Numa to Servius inclusively is made out to be under seventy-five years.

Moreover, the original Sabines were rude warriors who overpowered a population of robbers; yet by the times of the first Tarquin the Romans abound with wealth and art, so as to commence the splendid temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the enormous drain, of which a part still remains. And this change is brought about in three elective reigns, or less than half a century.

The Romans were less sensible of the narrow time allowed for such developments, because they unhesitatingly received a chronology which assigned two hundred and forty-five years to seven elective kings, of whom we must add that three perished by a violent death, and the last was prematurely expelled. But *we* know such a chronology to be impossible.

Our accounts concerning the last three kings may be better trusted, from the certain growth of art and of maritime commerce in that period; whence we can not doubt the familiar use of writing for recording events. But the more distant reigns are, of course, less trustworthy; and it is in them that we may suspect tradition to have failed of preserving the names of all the kings. The reign of Numa is all but mythical. To him are ascribed the fundamental religious institutions, and his whole history

is invented out of this one thought. Tullus and Ancus may be real men; but their names cover a large space of time, during which an enormous internal change took place in Rome. Far more than three kings must have reigned in the era which sufficed, not only for fusing Sabine and Roman into a homogeneous population, but for superinducing a mass of Latins which outnumbered the Sabino-Romans. If, instead of four, we imagine sixteen elective kings, between Numa and Tarquin the Proud, this may yield two hundred years, a little less than the *two hundred and eight* of the old annalists. The total period allowed by them would seem not to be at all too much, but the series of events perhaps forbids such interpolation later than the elder Tarquin. To recover the history of the Sabino-Roman kings is obviously impossible; and all the public events that we *certainly know* concerning the period seem to be comprehended in two sentences: first, that the Sabine and Roman nobility became effectually blended into one state and one race, with one Sabine religion; and, secondly, that Rome went on prospering, and acquiring masses of Latin subjects and citizens.

The great cause of the prosperity of the city was, that the kings had headed the movement-party for enfranchising and elevating the lower classes. Every liberal measure from an *order* of men comes too late. Upon the destruction of royalty, the lower

population discovered that they had lost their patron, and were exposed to hundreds of tyrants. All the early history of the Roman republic is a long struggle of the commonalty to regain for itself a powerful protector: and, after a time, the success of the plebeians was complete. But Rome continued to conquer; hence, outside of the plebeians, fresh and fresh masses of subjects lay, who had no organs of protection, until the Roman constitution was violently subverted, and emperors arose. From these at length the population of the provinces gradually obtained the gift of Roman citizenship, which ought to have been long before granted by free Rome, in order to preserve her own freedom. It was conquest that ruined the later republic, and conquest (apparently) also that ruined royal Rome. When the victories of Ancus and Tarquin enlarged the state so rapidly, *not* to have enfranchised the new subjects would have weakened it from within; yet, *by* enfranchising them, Tarquin and Servius produced a discontent in the old citizens which exploded into violence, and wrecked the constitution under Tarquin the Proud. If Brutus and Collatinus, instead of abolishing the royalty, had restored it with all the formalities of interregal election, but with such limitations as experience suggested, we now see that it would have been far better for the plebeians of Rome. The wicked deed of Sextus Tarquinius did not need royal power: it might have

been perpetrated by any man who wore a sword. But it was attributed to the inherent haughtiness of royal blood, and the question of raising some one else to the throne was never even moved at all.

In consequence, the plebeians were suddenly left without legal representatives. No man of their body was capable of holding office, because he was essentially inadmissible to patrician religion. It was soon manifested that, while excluded from executive government, possession of legislative power was a mockery: unfortunate war forced them to incur debt, and the penalties of debt were rigorously enforced. Art and skill migrated from Rome when her arms could no longer defend the industrious, and rudeness so great came on the city of the Tarquins, that sheep and oxen became the current coin of a community which but a little before had made a treaty of commerce with Carthage. Under an exclusive patrician caste, Rome sank more rapidly than she had risen; until tyrannical powers vested in tumultuous tribunes became an alleviation of the intolerable evils caused by the loss of the elective king.

For the destruction of the monarchy did not come in the ripeness of time, when monarchy had finished its work, and the lower people had gained power of self-defence. It was the explosion of rage against an institution, because of personal iniquity; and it became the prelude to a century and a half of suffering to the plebeians.

THE END.

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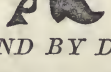

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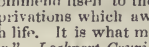

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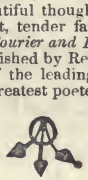

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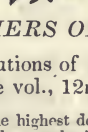

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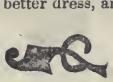

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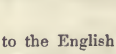

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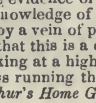

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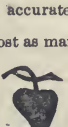

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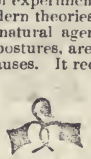

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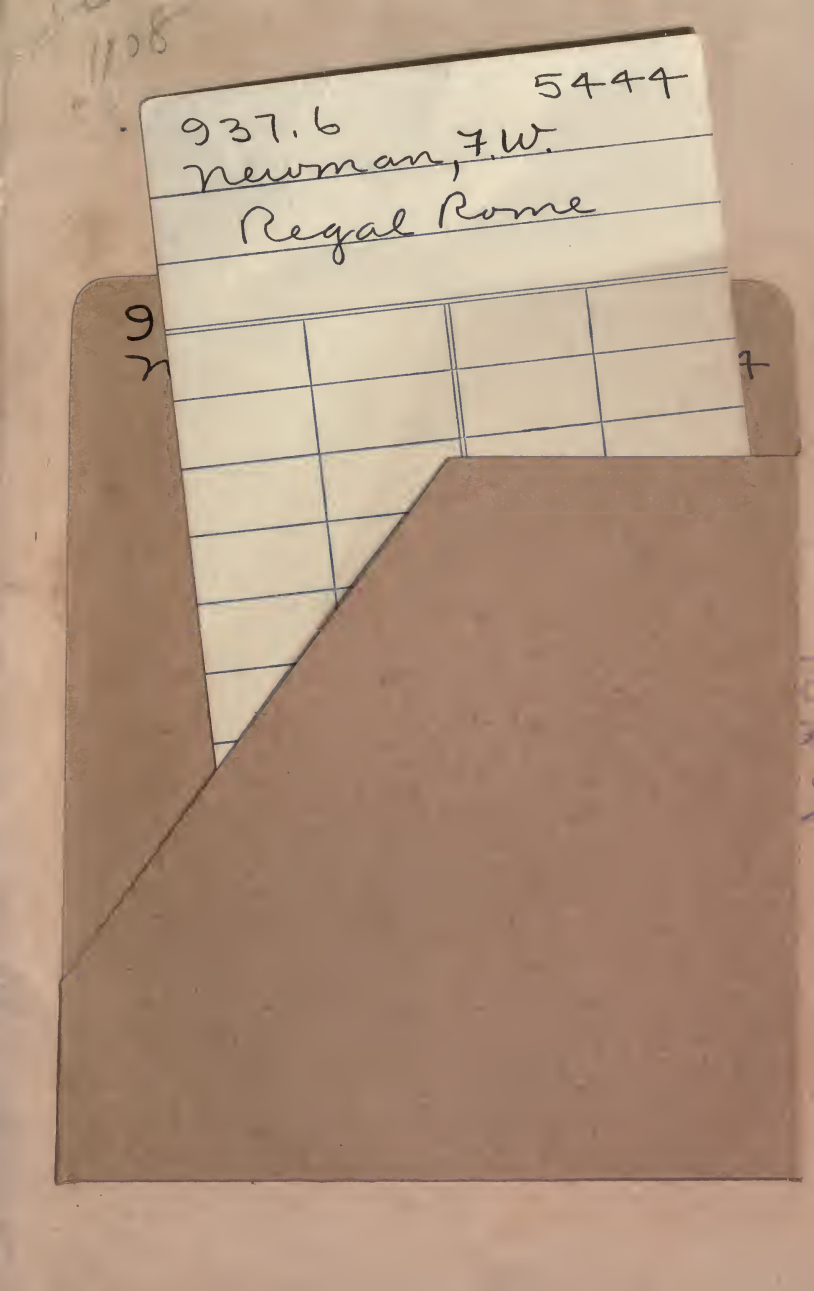
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